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THUCYDIDES
HISTORIES

BOOK IV

EDITED BY

T. R. MILLS

WITH A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

BY

H. STUART JONES

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INTRODUCTION

THUCYDIDES tells us that he was the son of Olorus (iv. 104. 4); that he lived through the whole of the Peloponnesian War, being ripe in years and judgement (*αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, v. 26. 5); that he began the preparation of his history at the outset of the war (i. 1. 1); that he suffered from the plague of 429 B.C. (ii. 48. 3); that he was elected general in 424 B.C., and dispatched to the Thraceward district (where he enjoyed the right of working certain gold mines) in order to check the advance of Brasidas, but failed to relieve Amphipolis, though he was just in time to save Eion (iv. 104-7); that he was exiled in consequence of this partial failure, and spent twenty years in banishment, during which he associated with both parties to the war (v. 26. 5).

These facts comprise almost all that we know with certainty concerning Thucydides; for the biographies found at the beginning of some MSS. are of very little value. They are derived from ancient commentaries,¹ to which, according to custom, a life of the author was prefixed; and the biographical details which they contain, so far as they do not rest on inferences from the text of the history, are often confused and contradictory.

¹ The longest of these biographies is described as having been compiled by Marcellinus 'from the commentaries' (*ἐκ τῶν σχολίων*). Marcellinus is probably to be identified with the author of Scholia on Hermogenes *Περὶ στάσεων*, who seems to have lived in the fifth century A.D.

They are supported and supplemented by the scattered statements of ancient writers, notably Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹, Plutarch², and Pausanias³; and the following facts seem to possess a certain degree of probability.

The name of Thucydides' father, Olorus, is identical with that of the Thracian prince whose daughter, Hegesipyle, was the wife of Miltiades and mother of Cimon; again, the daughter of Cimon was married to the statesman Thucydides, the son of Melesias. Hence it is natural to assume that there was a family connexion between the historian and the house of Miltiades; and the fact is stated by our ancient authorities, who were, however, entirely without evidence to show the precise degree of relationship. It is confirmed by the existence of the historian's tomb in the suburb of Athens known as Κοίλη, outside the *πύλαι Μελιτίδες*. This tomb adjoined those of Cimon and Miltiades, and was seen by the antiquary Polemon, who lived near the beginning of the second century B.C.; it bore the inscription *Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἀλιμούσιος*, which late writers endeavoured to convert into a hexameter by the addition of the words *ἐνθάδε κεῖται*. It was doubtless the family connexion of Thucydides with Thrace which led to his acquiring the right of working the gold mines in that region taken by the Athenians from the Thasians in 463 B.C.; and it may be true that he also had property in Thrace, especially at Σκαπτὴ ὕλη, whither he retired as an exile.

As to his latter years and the manner of his death

¹ Dionysius wrote two Essays on Thucydides, the *De Thucydidē iudicium* and the *Second Letter to Ammaeus*.

² *Cim.* 4.

³ i. 32.

conflicting stories were current. Timaeus, the Sicilian historian, who was born about the middle of the fourth century B. C., is quoted as saying that he spent the years of his exile, died, and was buried in Italy; and if a statement so manifestly untrue could be made within a century after the historian's death, there can have been but little certain knowledge attainable in the matter. It was vehemently disputed whether Thucydides died in Thrace or in Athens, although his own words in v. 26. 5 *ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη ἑλκοσι*, clearly imply that he returned to Athens, and his description of the wall of Themistocles whose remains 'may still be seen at the Piraeus' (i. 93. 5) shows that he was in Athens after the destruction of its walls by Lysander. Pausanias, in his description of the Acropolis, which is based on that of Polemon (v. *supra*), refers to a statue of a certain Oenobius, who, as he tells us, proposed a decree for the recall of Thucydides from exile. The name, which is a rare one in the fifth century, is found as that of a general commanding in the neighbourhood of Thasos in 410/9 B. C., and we hear of one 'Eucles the son of Oenobius' somewhat later. It has been conjectured that the father of Oenobius may have been the Eucles who was Thucydides' colleague as *στρατηγός* (iv. 104).¹ Thus the statement of Pausanias (i. e. Polemon) seems not to be unworthy of credence. The decree must have been passed in the

¹ We do not know whether Eucles (as seems probable) shared the exile of Thucydides. The historian preserves a dignified reticence as to the proceedings in the assembly and law-courts after the fall of Amphipolis; and we are left to infer his judgement on a democracy which treated failure as equivalent to treason from such passages as iii. 43. 5 (speech of Diodotus) and vii. 14 (letter of Nicias).

last months of the war, for all exiles were recalled by a general decree passed on the conclusion of peace in 404 B.C.

There was a persistent tradition that Thucydides was assassinated, whether in Thrace or after his return to Athens¹; but it is doubtful if more weight should be attached to it than to the statement of an anonymous 'Life' that he died 'of disease'. The date of his death can only be inferred from the internal evidence of his work. As this clearly lacked final revision, we cannot press the 'argumentum ex silentio' in cases of doubt; but he would assuredly have mentioned the restoration of the walls (v. *supra*) by Conon in A.D. 395, had he lived as long.

Thucydides announces the subject of his work in the opening sentence: it is 'the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians and how they fought with each other'; and he further tells us that he began to write when they first took up arms. We are, therefore, to suppose that the composition of the work continued throughout the war, and in fact (as it is clearly unfinished) until the death of the historian. Again, as the history was never completed, so it was certainly never revised; and we should not, therefore, be surprised to find in it traces of the different dates at which the several portions were composed. In point of fact, the evidences of this kind which have been brought forward in support of modern critical hypotheses have but the slightest value. The most famous of these hypotheses is that of Ullrich, who holds that Books I-V. 25, which

¹ Plut. *Cim.* 4; Didymus quoted by Marcellinus in the *Life of Thucydides*, § 32.

contain the history of the 'Archidamian' War (432-421 B.C.), form in reality a separate treatise, written between the Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition, and that the phrase 'this war' in the earlier books refers to the Ten Years War only. But it is noteworthy that the clearest case of such a use is to be found in iv. 48. 5, where we are told how the Corcyraean sedition ended 'as far as this war is concerned'. These words were added, as it seems, after the recrudescence of the troubles in 410 B.C.; so that Thucydides could write of 'this war' after hostilities had broken out afresh, and was then still engaged in describing its earlier phase. It is true that in v. 26 the historian clearly makes a fresh start with the words 'the same Thucydides of Athens recorded the events in order, reckoning by summers and winters, until the fall of Athens'. But he is careful to add that 'the war lasted for twenty-seven years, and any one who declines to count the interval of truce as war is mistaken'. So that his words are only such as a modern historian might employ in opening the second volume of a work falling into two natural divisions.

That the first volume, if we may so call it, was largely written in the interval between 421 and 416 B.C., is more than probable; that it received additions after the final fall of Athens is certain. The most important of these is the famous passage (ii. 65) in which Thucydides passes judgement on the career of Pericles, and thereby takes occasion to point out the errors which involved Athens in irretrievable disaster; of the rest, the allusion to Archelaus of Macedonia, who reigned 413-399 B.C. (ii. 100), may be taken as typical. It is likely, too, that the Preface, the sketch of early Greek civilization, and

the account of the 'Fifty Years' between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, were worked into their present shape when the book was nearing its completion. That it was never finished is plain: the narrative breaks off abruptly, and there is no ground for thinking that any part of it has been lost in transmission. Moreover, the second volume is uneven in style and lacks final revision. The sixth and seventh books, which tell the story of the Sicilian Expedition, are an acknowledged masterpiece of the historian's art: it has been thought that they were written as a separate work, but it is quite sufficient to assume that they were the object of Thucydides' peculiar care. But the eighth book, besides being incomplete, is the only one which contains no speeches, and may be held to represent the earlier stages of Thucydidean composition.

Thucydides states his own conception of the method and aim of history clearly in i. 22. He claims that he can give a true picture of the events (*ἔργα*) which he either witnessed himself or learnt by careful inquiry from eye-witnesses. He also claims that his work will be 'an everlasting possession', inasmuch as like events may be expected to happen again in the order of human things. Thus history is for him both a science and a guide to action; but he does not recognize in it an art. As an Athenian of the fifth century, however, Thucydides was an artist in spite of himself—an artist in words, and also a dramatist. He tells us himself that in reporting the speeches made during the war he 'put into the mouth of each speaker the words proper to the occasion'; and no one can read the Funeral Oration (ii. 35-46) without recognizing in it, not a faithful report of the

words spoken by Pericles, but Thucydides' own panegyric, composed after the fall of Athens and delivered at the grave of her departed greatness. But the insertion of fictitious speeches is only one of the conventions of a literature formed by rhetoric; a more serious question lies behind. Recent criticism of Thucydides has been based on the idea that his work is not truly scientific but fundamentally artistic. Negatively, we are told that 'the ancients were even further from a genuine science of history than from a genuine science of nature'; positively, that Thucydides' selection of events and treatment of characters—who are practically personifications of abstract forces, such as Hope or Insolence—is designed to present the fall of Athens as a tragedy in prose.

The truth which underlies these criticisms is largely mixed with error. Thucydides did not, of course, possess the apparatus of research as it has now been perfected, nor did he devote himself to gathering statistics for use in the economic interpretation of history; but he had a keen sense of the value of historical testimony and was capable of using documentary evidence in order to destroy a current fable, as in the case of the Pisistratidae (vi. 55); and he inserts in his text three diplomatic instruments—the armistice of 423 B.C., the Peace of 421 B.C., and the treaty of alliance between Athens and Sparta made in the latter year—copied by him, no doubt, from the originals. It has been pointed out that the text of the second of these differs in some details from that given by the original inscription, a fragment of which has been discovered¹; but the variants, where

¹ Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 69.

they are not purely orthographical, are never of sufficient importance to affect the sense; and as some allowance may be made for errors in the transmission of our MS. text, and even official duplicates of Greek inscriptions do not always precisely tally, they afford no ground for impeaching the accuracy of Thucydides. It has further been alleged (by Kirchhoff) that Thucydides had no acquaintance with the three documents when he composed the draft of his history, but inserted them after his return from exile,¹ without making use of the information contained in them for the correction and amplification of his narrative. This is a serious charge; but it is fortunately baseless. In v. 29. 2—a passage inseparable from its context—Thucydides refers explicitly to the text of the Spartan-Attic alliance, so that this at least was before him as he wrote: and it cannot be said that the facts which we can infer from the documents, but of which no mention is made in the history—such as the recovery by Athens of her dependencies on Mt. Athos²—were essential to a narrative confined to ‘the most noteworthy matters’ (iii. 90. 1).

The case of the Revolution of the Four Hundred, narrated in the eighth book, is even more instructive. In the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* of Aristotle we possess an account of this transaction which differs in many details from that given by Thucydides, and is supported by a series of official documents quoted *in extenso*. If this account be correct and the documents trustworthy, then Thucydides is proved—in this instance—to have fallen

¹ It should always be remembered that Thucydides, whilst in exile, had every opportunity of consulting official copies of these documents.

² v. 18. 5.

short of that ideal of accurate investigation of the truth which he sets up in his Preface. But it is not so. Thucydides betrays, by his casual employment of a technical phrase, his acquaintance with one of the documents quoted by Aristotle,¹ and he doubtless knew the others. But there is good reason for thinking that they do not represent the real facts of the revolution, but give an *ex parte* version officially circulated by the oligarchs; whereas the story as told by Thucydides bears the stamp of truth, and gives us a living picture of events, stripped of the disguises with which they were cloaked by the party in power.² Thucydides, then, cannot justly be charged with lack of research: nor did he fail to grasp the critical principles which the historian should apply to events and periods remote from his immediate observation. In the opening chapters of his work he gives a sketch of early Greek history known as the *Archacologia*; and in this he shows his comprehension of the fundamental principle upon which the use of the comparative method is based when he writes:—‘Many customs now confined to barbarians might be shown to have existed in early times amongst the Hellenes.’ It

¹ οἱ ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὠφελεῖν οἷοί τε ὦσιν (viii. 65. 3) = τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν λητουργεῖν (‘Αθ. Πολ. 29. 5).

² In one detail Thucydides seems to be wrong. He states (viii. 67. 1) that Pisander and his friends proposed that ten *ἐνγγραφῆς* should be elected; whereas we learn from the ‘Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, in which the text of the decree is quoted (c. 29. 2), that twenty names were to be added to the existing board of ten *πρόβουλοι* (cp. Thuc. viii. 1. 3) in order to form the committee charged with the drafting of the new constitution. The error (if any) in Thucydides’ account of the assassination of Phrynichus (viii. 92. 2), which forms the subject of an Attic inscription (Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 74), is of the most trifling nature.

is true that he does not reduce this principle to an abstract formula, as the modern anthropologist would; ancient historians did not reach the wider generalizations which are familiar to ourselves, since the course of recorded history was short and the field of comparison limited. But the true spirit of historical science breathes in the words of Thucydides.

A graver charge against Thucydides concerns his selection and presentation of facts. It has been said that he ignored the true causes of the Peloponnesian War—the rise of Athenian commerce, the pressure towards Western expansion, and the obstacles presented by Corinth and Megara—and concentrated his attention on great personalities such as Pericles or Cleon or Alcibiades: and further, that his characters are dramatic types, embodying such abstract concepts as Hope, Violence, or Deceit, and his narrative constructed according to the laws of Attic tragedy, with the Athenian people as protagonist. There is much truth in this last contention; the fall of Athens *was* a tragedy, and if Thucydides, in so presenting it, was great as an artist, that forms no reason for detracting from his greatness as an historian. Nor is it to be denied that he learnt much from the technique of the Attic drama; it has been said with justice that the passage in which the Athenian speakers warn the Melians against the delusions of Hope (v. 103), coming as it does just before the story of the Sicilian Expedition, is a masterstroke of tragic irony. But it cannot be proved that he perverted facts in order to draw a moral which they did not contain, or that (to take a concrete instance) in describing Cleon as ‘the most violent of the citizens’, he was guilty, not so much of

direct unfairness to a personal opponent who had brought about his exile, as of a more refined injustice in putting him on the stage as an incarnation of Aeschylean ὕβρις. The art of Thucydides is not without its conventions, such as the selection of *typical* episodes for detailed treatment: a famous example of this is the description of the siege of Plataea, which is out of all proportion to its intrinsic importance. But the true historian needs art as well as science, in order that the facts gathered by research may be made to yield their inner meaning; and Thucydides was great in both respects. Moreover—and this is what gives his work its special value—he wrote history as only those can write it who have helped to make it. As a man of affairs, he knew the men of his time—the primary agents in its history; and if we bear this in mind, we shall pause ere we charge him with omitting to note essential features in their policy.¹ It is not hard to see in what direction his own sympathies lay. Pericles, as drawn in ii. 65, clearly embodies his ideal of statesmanship; Cleon (iii. 36. 6; iv. 27) and Hyperbolus (viii. 73. 3) represent that which was hateful to him in Athenian democracy. As for the oligarchs Antiphon (viii. 68. 1), Phrynichus (viii. 27. 5), and Theramenes (viii. 68. 4), he speaks highly of their intellectual and oratorical ability; but his praise is reserved for the

¹ At the same time, Thucydides cannot be acquitted of omitting certain facts of primary importance, such as the doubling of the tribute in B. C. 425, asserted by the orators and confirmed by an inscription (Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 64). Such an omission can neither be excused on the ground that Thucydides assumes acquaintance with the internal affairs of Athens on the part of his readers, nor by the fact that his subject was war and not finance—though his aim was clearly to confine his narrative as far as possible to military operations.

moderate constitution established at Athens on the fall of the Four Hundred, of which he says that 'oligarchy and democracy were mingled in due proportion' (viii. 97. 2). Thus we see that Thucydides, who was before all things an 'intellectual', held the doctrine dear to his class, that Science is able to compound the best constitution by a judicious mixture of opposites.¹

The chronology of Thucydides has given rise to much dispute. At the opening of the continuous narrative (ii. 1) he tells us that the events of the war are described in order *κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα*; but no definition of these terms is given, and we are led to interpret them in their natural sense. In v. 20, a passage which forms a connecting link between the narrative of the Archidamian war and the continuation of the history, Thucydides invites the reader to regard 'the natural divisions of time' (this is the meaning of *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους*) rather than the designation of the year by the names of officials (a method which of course varied in different cities) and to reckon by summers and winters, *ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος*. The plain meaning of these words appears to be that summer and winter, in Thucydides, are of equal length, but we should have expected that this conventional use of the terms would be explained at the beginning of the history. Moreover, in vi. 21. 2 Nicias, speaking of Sicily, uses the expression *ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥάδιον ἔλθεῖν*. These words are most naturally translated 'from whence it is scarcely possible for a messenger to come

¹ We cannot trace this idea to its original source; it was doubtless current in the political discussions of Thucydides' time.

even in four months—namely the winter months'.¹ A four months' winter suits well with current Greek ideas; Herodotus (ii. 68) writes of τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τεσσαέρas, and in the Hippocratean tract περὶ διαίτης (3. 1), winter is reckoned as lasting from the early setting of Pleiades (Nov. 10) to the vernal equinox (Mar. 26 in the Julian calendar). The 'four winter months' would roughly correspond with Maimakterion, Poseideon, Game-lion, and Anthesterion in the Attic calendar, so that spring would commence in Elaphebolion; and the internal evidence of the narrative (see below) is in accordance with this view. Thucydides, moreover, includes both spring² and autumn³ under 'summer', and autumn was generally held by the Greeks to commence with the early rising of Arcturus (Sept. 27), which phenomenon takes place in the course of a Thucydidean summer (ii. 78. 2). There appear, therefore, to be weighty reasons for supposing that the summer (i.e. campaigning season) and winter of Thucydides were unequal in length.⁴

It might be supposed that the date given by Thucydides in ii. 2 for the Theban attempt on Plataea would enable us to determine the commencement of spring

¹ It is, however, just possible to translate 'in four of the winter months', taking τῶν χειμερινῶν as a partitive genitive. Some editors, again, suppose τῶν χειμερινῶν to be an interpolation.

² Cf. iv. 117. 1 ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρου, vi. 94 ἅμα τῷ ἦρι εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρου, and so on.

³ Cf. ii. 31. 1 περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρου τούτου.

⁴ It is to be supposed that the words θέρος and χειμῶν were used in the Thucydidean sense by the writers who continued his history, viz. Xenophon and the author (probably Cratippus) whose work is represented by the recently discovered Oxyrhynchus papyrus (No. 842); but no conclusive evidence can be drawn from their writings on the point at issue.

according to his reckoning; but the interpretation of his statements has been disputed. The attempt was made ἅμα ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ, and also τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός, i.e. towards the close of a *lunar* month; but it has been much debated whether the new moon in question was that of Mar. 9 or Apr. 7, B. C. 431; and the words Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις do not help us, for in any case Pythodorus had more than two months of his archonship left to run, so that unless it was prematurely terminated we must adopt the correction τέσσαρας (δ') for δύο. We are on more certain ground in dealing with iv. 52. 1, where we read τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπές τι ἐγένετο περὶ νουμηνίαν. This eclipse is without doubt that of Mar. 21, 424 B. C. Furthermore, we are told in iv. 117. 1 that the Spartans and Athenians made a truce ἅμα ἡρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς; and this truce, as we learn from iv. 118. 12, came into force on Elaphebolion 14, B. C. 423, which corresponds with April 20; the negotiations must have occupied some little time. Again, in B. C. 421 the Peace of Nikias was concluded, according to Thuc. v. 20, τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἡρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν (the Dionysia lasted from the ninth to the thirteenth of Elaphebolion), and the treaty came into force on Elaphebolion 25 (April 11).

These facts point to the conclusion that Thucydides considered the spring to begin in the latter part of March, which corresponds with the commencement of the Attic month Elaphebolion. With regard to the opening of winter the data are by no means so clear; but since autumn was included under summer and gave time for such operations as Paches' expedition to Myti-

lene and the investment of the town (iii. 18. 3 ff.) before winter set in, we can hardly put the close of summer earlier than the end of October. It seems probable, therefore, that the winter of Thucydides coincides fairly accurately with that usually recognized by his contemporaries (Nov. 10—Mar. 26, see above); and the length of the campaigning season accords with the practice of the time, for we read in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (c. 11) that the Athenian fleet kept the sea for eight months in each year.

The accuracy of Thucydides in matters of geography and topography has been seriously impugned. It may be conceded that minor errors or instances of laxity of expression in geographical matters are not uncommon in his history; we find distances under- or over-stated (although the error is hardly ever serious) and points wrongly located (e.g. it seems to be implied in vi. 104. 2 that the gulf of Terina is on the east coast of Italy). But, in the absence of accurate maps and surveys, precision of geographical statement is not to be expected in a writer of the fifth century B.C. It is a more serious question whether Thucydides is to be trusted in his account of military operations such as those at Plataea, Pylos, and Syracuse, where accurate topography is essential. Now there can be no doubt whatever that he derived his account of these events from eye-witnesses, even if he did not visit the sites in person; and we shall therefore be slow to question the substantial truth of his narrative. It must be allowed that he had not the gift of rendering topographical details clear to his readers; the story of the siege of Syracuse, for example, though evidently written by one familiar with the ground, con-

tains obscurities which have never been convincingly elucidated. The details of the siege of Plataea have been pronounced to be incredible; but we know too little of the aspect of the city in the fifth century B.C. to subscribe to this verdict. The remains found on the site belong to a time subsequent to the destruction of Plataea by the Thebans; and the area occupied in 429–427 B.C. may have been little larger than the acropolis of the later city. The most serious charge against Thucydides concerns his narrative of the operations of Demosthenes and Cleon at Pylos and Sphacteria; no satisfactory theory has been devised to explain the undoubted error contained in Thucydides' statement that the southern channel separating Sphacteria from the mainland could be blocked by eight or nine ships stationed abreast (iv. 8). The graphic touches in which the narrative abounds are clearly due to an eye-witness, and the details of the final storming of Sphacteria have been confirmed by minute examination of the site.¹ We can only suppose, therefore, that Thucydides misunderstood the information supplied to him.

In style and language Thucydides represents the struggle between genius and convention in its acutest form. The art of prose writing was brought into being by the Ionic historians—called *λογογράφοι* or 'prose-writers' *par excellence*—of whom the last and greatest was Herodotus; and the Ionic philosophers—notably

¹ It is true that the length of the island is given as fifteen stadia, whereas twenty-five would be nearer the truth; but the mistake may be due to a corruption of the MS. text, which is not to be trusted in the matter of numerals.

Heraclitus and Democritus—showed that artistic prose could be made the vehicle of expression for abstract ideas, often clothed in poetic imagery. But the systematic study of prose composition as an art was the work of the Sicilians, Korax and Tisias, who sought to furnish the citizens of the new democracies with the weapons of aggression and defence which they needed in the assembly and the law-courts. Henceforth it was necessary for every Greek who aspired to play a part in the public life of his city to acquire the elements of ‘the speaker’s art’ (ῥητορική, sc. τέχνη), which became the most important subject in the curriculum of the higher education imparted by the Sophists. Of these Gorgias of Leontini, who is said to have come from Sicily to Athens in 427 B.C., had the greatest influence on the development of prose writing. Later critics (such as Aristotle) rightly discerned that the cardinal feature of the new rhetoric was the more elaborate structure of the sentence. For the λέξις εἰρομένη of the Ionic writers, in which the clauses were ‘strung together’ (εἴρεσθαι), was substituted the λέξις κατεστραμμένη, in which the sentence was ‘brought to a conclusion’ (καταστροφή) kept in view from the outset, and thus acquired an artistic unity. The simplest form of such a sentence was that in which two clauses antithetic in sense balanced each other, and some critics treated the λέξις ἀντικειμένη or ‘contrasted’ style as a form intermediary between the two named above. Gorgias was the recognized master of this style, and the devices by which he secured the balance of clauses in sound as well as sense were called the ‘Gorgian figures’ (σχήματα Γοργεία). We do not need the express testimony of the ancients to assure us that Thucydides was subject to the

influence of Gorgias, whom he followed even in his most patent defects. The contrast of *ἔργον* and *λόγος* is worn threadbare by constant use,¹ and highly artificial, if not false antitheses, are not uncommon.² Nor was Gorgias the only Sophist whose influence is traceable in the pages of Thucydides. Prodicus of Ceos (whose style is parodied by Plato in the *Protagoras* ³) set the fashion of elaborating subtle distinctions between words of cognate meaning, and his example was followed by Thucydides in more than one passage which cannot be pronounced free from the reproach of pedantry.⁴ We are told that Antiphon was also amongst the teachers of Thucydides; but although he bestows praise upon his oratory,⁵ there is no evidence that he was his pupil, and all that we can affirm is that both writers were versed in the new art, to the rules of which Antiphon's forensic speeches—especially that 'on the murder of Herodes'—display a somewhat pedantic adherence.

It is not so easy to detect the conventional element in Thucydides' vocabulary. To the Sophists—especially to Gorgias—he owed the use of the neuter adjective or participle to express abstract conceptions (*τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπορον*, *τὸ δεδιός* in the sense of 'fear', and the like), as well as the practice of coining words in order to point an

¹ It is found in nearly one hundred passages in Thucydides; eighteen of these occur in the Funeral Oration.

² There is a famous example in i. 70.6 (where Thucydides is contrasting the Spartan character with the Athenian) *ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πύλεως χρώνται, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς*.

³ 337 A.

⁴ The most striking example is the distinction drawn between *αἰτία* and *κατηγορία* in i. 69. 6.

⁵ *κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἂ γνοίῃ εἰπεῖν*, viii. 68. 1.

antithesis.¹ Other peculiarities of usage have been explained by the fact that, as the scholiasts inform us, the language of Thucydides was 'the Early Attic dialect' (ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀτθίς); but this means only that he employed such forms as ξύν for σύν, αἰεῖ for ἀεῖ, and so on, which belong to the Attic of the fifth century B.C. as distinguished from the later dialect. We are not necessarily to infer that the words found in his history, which are foreign to the pure dialect of the Comedians and Orators, belong to the Attic of Thucydides' youth, and were retained by him with the aim of imparting an archaic flavour to his prose; they represent rather his debt to the Ionic historians and philosophers. Such are ἀχθηδών, ἀμφιδήριτος, ἀκραιφνής, κλέος, θάμβος, and many others; they belong in part to the language of poetry, and show that Thucydides followed the Ionic philosophers² in admitting a poetical colouring in his prose style. To the same source we may trace his bold use of metaphors such as ἰατρὸς τῆς πόλεως and the like. Indeed, the only device belonging to the prose art of his day which we seek in vain in his pages is the imitation of musical rhythm of which Thrasy-machus was the foremost exponent.

Nevertheless, the language of Thucydides bears the impress of a genius whose freedom such conventions as those which we have described could limit but in small degree. The often repeated criticism of Quintilian—*densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides*—does not lose its point even when we are forced to allow that

¹ The phrase τῷ φρονίμῳ τῆς γνώμης παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον, quoted from Gorgias' Funeral Oration, might have been written by Thucydides. For the coinage of new forms cp. i. 70, 3 f. (nouns of the agent in -της).

² Notably Heraclitus, to whose work Plato gives the title Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι (*Soph.* 242 D).

the thought with which his pages are tightly packed is sometimes only the play of a subtle and sophisticated intelligence about a single theme—‘the crowding of curious and distorted aphorisms about some central idea’, as it has been called.¹ It remains true that his sentences, whether in speeches embodying political doctrine such as the Funeral Oration, or in passages devoted to the searching analysis of human passions, such as the essay on revolution in iii. 82 ff., are packed with ideas expressed with the utmost parsimony of words. To this excessive brevity both ancient and modern critics have traced the obscurity which is so glaring a defect in Thucydides’ writing: but the excuse is only partially valid, for it would have been easy to remove many of the harsh constructions which arise from the sudden shifts and turns in the historian’s point of view without expanding the sentence. It would seem as though Thucydides was intentionally careless of reducing to logical form the ideas which arose in his mind. When the Plataeans address the Spartans in the words *ἡμέρας τε ἀναμνησόμεν ἐκείνης ἥ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ’ αὐτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν* (iii. 59. 2), or the Corinthians assert that the clause permitting Sparta and Athens to enrol fresh allies applies only to the people *ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξιμένοις, εἰ σωφρονούσι, πόλεμον ἀντ’ εἰρήνης ποιήσει* (i. 40. 2), the sense is as clear as the logic is tangled.

Of the transmission of Thucydides’ text we know scarcely anything. As he did not live to complete his history, it may have been edited and must have been published by other hands than his: but no weight can be attached to the statement of Diogenes Laertius, that

¹ Mahaffy, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, ii, p. 111.

Xenophon gave it to the world. The division into books which we find in our MSS. was not the only nor the original arrangement. The scholia contain references to an edition in thirteen books, of which no other trace exists.¹ The manuscript tradition begins for us with papyrus fragments found in Egypt, the most important of which was found at Oxyrhynchus in 1897 and contains iv. 36-41 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. i, No. xvi²); portions of a commentary on the second book were discovered on the same site in 1906 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. vi, No. 853). The former of these dates from the second or third century A.D., the latter probably from the second. This period is separated from that of our earliest MSS. by an interval of eight centuries. It is now generally admitted that seven codices only, ranging in date from the tenth to the thirteenth century, are worthy of primary consideration in the constitution of the Thucydidean text, for though we are obliged at times to have recourse to later MSS. in order to recover the true reading, we may generally feel sure that it is due to the conjecture of a learned scribe. Such MSS. can no more be treated as primary sources of the text than the early printed editions. The seven old MSS. fall into two groups or families. The first consists of two codices, the Laurentian (C), which is the oldest of all extant MSS., dating from

¹ At the close of Book III there is a marginal note in C which states that the fifth book of the edition in thirteen books ended here: and at the close of the seventy-seventh chapter of Book IV a similar note tells us that the sixth book ended at this point.

² A few more fragments were subsequently discovered (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. iv, No. 696). A shorter fragment, published in 1885 by Wessely, contains portions of viii. 91 f. See also *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. vi, Nos. 878-80.

the tenth century A. D., and a Munich MS. (G), of the thirteenth century.¹ To the other belong the Paris MS. (A), of the eleventh or twelfth century, the Vatican MS. (B), the 'Palatine' MS. at Heidelberg (E), and a second Munich MS. (F), all of the eleventh century. We must also include in this family a MS. in the British Museum (M) also of the eleventh century, although in several passages it shares the readings of C and G, turning the scale in their favour. These two families represent two texts of Thucydides current in later antiquity of about equal merit: C is our best individual MS., and its readings are on the whole to be preferred to those of the other group in doubtful cases: the variants are in great part of minor importance, consisting in the omission or addition of small words or trifling differences in tense- or mood-forms. They are much more numerous in the first two books than in those which follow. From vi. 92. 5 onwards we meet with a new factor: the Vatican MS. henceforward presents a text which differs considerably from that of the other MSS. The value of its readings has been much disputed: some of them, it is true, appear to be due to the intrusion of marginal comments, but there is no ground for thinking that we have to deal with a systematically edited text. In several important passages B clearly has the true reading; and we can only conclude that it is the sole representative of a tradition independent of that followed by the remaining MSS. and of equal antiquity. It has been conjectured that this tradition was that of the recension in thirteen books; the tenth of these might perhaps have begun at vi. 94. But there is

¹ This MS. has suffered damage at the upper margin of the page throughout, so that its evidence is often wanting.

no evidence of this.¹ The papyrus fragments are too short to be of much value in deciding the relative merit of rival traditions. In one or two cases they confirm the conjectures of modern critics, but only when slight alterations of the text are involved, lending no countenance to the theory that the manuscript tradition is vitiated by the intrusion of marginal glosses in large numbers, nor indeed by any extensive corruption, unless of very early date. Thus in iv. 37. 1 the words τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι, deleted by Krüger on the supposition that the copyist's eye was misled by their occurrence in the following line, are found in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus. What the papyri do prove, however, is that a large number of minor variants, such as εἰ βούλονται for εἰ βούλουιτο in iv. 37. 2, ἀπέφυγε for διέφυγε in viii. 92. 2, were current in texts of the Roman period. We can therefore feel no confidence that in such matters our editions reproduce the autograph of Thucydides; but neither our judgement of his style, nor our appreciation of his meaning, is in the least affected. The quotations from Thucydides found in ancient writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the imitations of later historians, afford no ground for questioning the general soundness of the text, which from its very difficulty was the more carefully studied and accurately preserved. It goes without saying that the Attic orthography employed by Thucydides was gradually modernized, and must be restored in accordance with the evidence derived from inscriptions, the statements of ancient grammarians, and the usage of Comedy where fixed by the metre.

¹ The fact that variants occur in vi. 92 f. may be urged against this conjecture.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK IV

DURING the three years with which this Book deals there were three main theatres of war—the coasts of Peloponnesus, Boeotia, and the north coast of the Aegæan. So great were the losses sustained by Sparta in the first of these regions, and by Athens in the second and third, that on both sides there arose an irresistible call for peace.

I. The Coasts of Peloponnesus.—Before the war broke out, Pericles had indicated the strategy best suited to the resources of Athens—to refrain from meeting the enemy in pitched battles on land, where he was admittedly superior, and to wear him down, partly by simple endurance, partly by using the naval strength of Athens for aggressive action against his coasts and establishing hostile posts in his territory.¹ In pursuance of this policy Nicias had, in 427, fortified and garrisoned the island of Minoa² off the coast of the Megarid, thereby interfering with the traffic of Nisaea, and in 425 and the earlier part of 424 the same method was applied with conspicuous success.

The first instance was that of Pylos, a position of great natural strength about which Demosthenes had probably heard from his friends the exiled Messenians at Naupactus. His project, however, was opposed by his superiors, and would not have been carried out but for the storm which prevented the fleet from continuing its voyage to Corcyra and Sicily. Once roughly fortified, Pylos was safe from capture: for the Spartans were notoriously inefficient in siege operations, and the disable-

¹ i. 142.

² iii. 51.

ment of Brasidas at an early stage of the attack removed the most energetic spirit in their ranks; while the subsequent loss of their fleet rendered success hopeless. Pylos, garrisoned generally by Messenians or Helots, remained a thorn in the side of Sparta, the headquarters of marauding expeditions, until 409, when the garrison, failing to receive help from Athens, was forced to surrender.¹

Far more serious for Sparta was the capture of 120 of her citizens of high rank² at Sphacteria, which followed the defeat of her fleet in the harbour of Pylos. Never before had Sparta suffered such a blow.³ It created a profound moral impression throughout Greece, dissipating the belief that Spartans would always die rather than surrender. The possession of these prisoners freed Attica from the fear of invasion, and gave Athens an immense advantage in the negotiations for peace.

To Pylos on the west coast of Peloponnesus were soon added other positions on the east and south coasts. The mountainous peninsula of Methana (or Methone) between Epidaurus and Troezen was fortified and garrisoned by Nicias soon after the Athenian success at Sphacteria, and in the following summer (424) he occupied the island of Cythera off Cape Malea. The importance of that island in war is illustrated by a passage in Herodotus⁴, where Demaratus advises Xerxes to make it a base of operations against Laconia, quoting the saying of Chilon, one of the Seven Wise Men, that 'it would be better for Sparta if the island were sunk to the bottom of the sea'. It provided the Athenians with a convenient base for descents on the mainland, and enabled them to interfere with Lacedaemonian commerce. Finally, there was an expedition to the Megarid, which met with only partial success: the Athenians, under Demosthenes and Hippocrates, made themselves masters of Nisaea and of the Long Walls connecting the

¹ Xen. *Hell.* i. 2. 18; Diodorus, xiii. 64.

² v. 15.

³ v. 14.

⁴ Hdt. vii. 235.

harbour-town with Megara, but were foiled by the promptitude of Brasidas in their designs on the city itself.

From this time fortune began to change. The profound depression produced at Sparta by the disaster at Sphacteria, by the harassing attacks from Pylos and Cythera, by fear of a Helot revolt, and by inability to cope with the rapid movements of the enemy, gradually lightened as blow after blow fell upon Athens. The first gleam of encouragement came from the action of Brasidas in saving Megara; then followed Delium and Amphipolis.

II. **Boeotia.**—Boeotia had for nine years (456-447) formed part of the land-empire of Athens, which she had abandoned under the Thirty Years' Peace (445). At the beginning of the winter of 424/3 Demosthenes, who had previously, in his Aetolian campaign, failed to open a way to Boeotia from the west, attempted to carry out an elaborate scheme for the overthrow of the existing oligarchies and the establishment of democratic governments in sympathy with Athens. This would have involved an extension of the Athenian land-empire, and a serious departure from the policy of Pericles, who had uttered a warning against any attempt to extend the empire while the war continued.¹ But the scheme miscarried, partly through treachery, partly through the difficulty of carrying out concerted operations. All that could be effected was the occupation of Delium, the sacred precinct of Apollo near the coast facing Euboea; and the retreating Athenian army under Hippocrates suffered a crushing defeat. There is a curious sequel in the arguments of Boeotians and Athenians with regard to the occupation of the sacred property and the giving up of the dead for burial. Greek sentiment was scandalized by the profanation of sacred property, and also regarded it as a solemn duty to place no obstacle in the way of the burial of the dead. The Athenians would have been wise had they been content with

¹ i. 144.

replying to the charge of sacrilege (unsatisfactory as their defence is); by going on to claim that Delium was theirs by right of conquest they laid themselves open to the retort that if they were in their own territory they need not ask permission of the Boeotians to remove their dead.

III. **The North Coast of the Aegaeon.**—While the energy of Athens was being dissipated in the Boeotian expedition, a formidable danger menaced her possessions on the north coast of the Aegaeon. A call for Spartan help had come from the Chalcidians and the Macedonian king, and the Spartans responded, thinking that a demonstration in the north would divert the attention of Athens from Peloponnesus. Brasidas, the leader of the invading force, had already on several occasions rendered conspicuous service to Sparta. He had repelled the Athenian attack on the Laconian Methone¹ in 431; he had planned an attack on Peiraeus² in 429; in the sea-attack on Pylos he had shown great gallantry; and he had saved Megara. His energy singled him out for this new command in the north; but he was coldly regarded, and inadequately supported, by the home authorities, for his qualities were altogether un-Spartan—enterprise, persuasive speech, tact in dealing with men, fairness, and moderation. The force which he commanded included no Spartan; it was made up of Helots and Peloponnesian mercenaries.

The Athenian possessions in the north were especially vulnerable, being accessible by land; and, a few years before, the colony of Heracleia in Trachis³ had been founded by Sparta with a view to a movement against the north. Moreover, there were powerful neighbours, Sitalces king of the Odrysian Thracians and Perdiccas king of Macedonia. With the former power Athens had lived in amity; but Perdiccas was constantly changing sides. In 432 he quarrelled with Athens, entered into negotiations with Sparta and Corinth, and fomented the revolt

¹ ii. 25.

² ii. 93.

³ iii. 92.

of the cities of Chalcidice; the Athenian invasion of his territory had to be dropped because of the revolt of Potidaea. In 431 he was again hostile to Athens, and again reconciled. In this Book we find him using Brasidas against his enemy Arrhabaeus, and after much friction breaking with the Spartan and again leaning towards Athens.

The success of Brasidas was rapid and brilliant: in the summer of 424 he gained Acanthus and Stageirus, in the following winter Amphipolis, most of the towns in the peninsula of Acte, and Torone; in the summer of 423 Scione and Mende. The last two were won after the conclusion of the truce, and Brasidas pursued his policy till he fell at Amphipolis in 422. He was an enemy of peace, says Thucydides¹, because war brought him success and reputation.

To the success of Brasidas at Amphipolis we indirectly owe the History of Thucydides. His failure to prevent the fall of that important position was punished with exile. On the justice of the sentence it is impossible, with our scanty knowledge of the facts, to pronounce an opinion. These points, however, are clear: (1) though Thucydides was jointly responsible with his colleague Eucles for the safety of the Thraceward region, Amphipolis was the key of the whole position; (2) had he been at Eion with his ships, the feeling in Amphipolis would probably have been against the surrender of the place; (3) his presence at Thasos may be accounted for by a desire to procure reinforcements from that island and from the mainland. It must also be remembered that the Athenian democracy was prone to condemn its generals unreasonably, and that the Athenians themselves were mainly responsible because they did not garrison the district adequately.

The West and Sicily.—In the west Athens gained Anactorium and Oeniadae; while at Corcyra the massacre of the surviving oligarchs, connived at by the commanders of the

Athenian fleet, established the democracy firmly in power. The alliance of Corcyra was of great importance because she was one of the three considerable naval powers of Greece, and the island was a convenient stopping-place on the coast voyage to Italy and Sicily.

Ambitious Athenians had dreamt of adding Sicily to their empire; and it was at all events desirable that the island should not supply the Peloponnesians with corn. These considerations, together with the sentiment of Ionian brotherhood,¹ led Athens to interfere on behalf of the Chalcidian colonies against their Dorian neighbours led by Syracuse. The first step was the conclusion in 433 of alliances with Leontini and the Italian city of Rhegium. In 427 Laches was sent with a small squadron to aid Leontini against Syracuse, but he effected nothing of importance beyond compelling Messene to join the Athenian alliance in 426. In the winter of 426/5 Laches was superseded by Pythodorus, who was joined later by Eurymedon and Sophocles with the fleet which had touched at Pylos and at Corcyra. The Athenian fleet was now increased to sixty ships, but in the interval Messene had been lost, and the attempt to recover it was unsuccessful. At the conference of Gela the Sicilian Greeks decided to be at peace among themselves, and the opportunity for Athenian intervention was, for the time being, gone.

Asia.—In Asia hostilities were confined to Antandrus, which was captured by Lesbian refugees, but speedily recovered by Athens.

The question of Peace.—Proposals for peace were made by the Spartans immediately after the defeat of their fleet at Pylos, and on several occasions after the surrender at Sphacteria. In addition to their desire to recover the prisoners other motives were at work: the leading men were jealous of Brasidas, and

¹ iii. 86.

King Pleistoanax was anxious for peace because his enemies credited him with the misfortunes that Sparta suffered in war.¹

At Athens the war and peace parties were sharply divided, and during the first ten years of the war almost equal in numbers. The oligarchs, aiming at a revolution with Spartan support, were ready for peace at any price so long as their own ends were served; but the main strength of the peace party was found among the men of moderate means, especially those engaged in agriculture, who suffered heavily from the invasions of Attica. Although loyal to the existing constitution, they would have preferred a limited form of democracy. Their leader was Nicias, an eminently virtuous and religious man, and 'the most fortunate general of his day'², who thought that his good fortune would be best preserved by peace. These men were ready to make peace on the basis of the *status quo*, and they also advocated humane treatment of the allies and the unity of Greece against Persia.³ But the extreme democrats, led by Cleon, insisted that peace should be made only on terms that would leave Athens predominant in Greece. Thucydides, whose own sympathies were with the middle party, always places Cleon in a repulsive or a ludicrous light.

(a) Cleon is involved in the general condemnation of all the popular leaders who succeeded Pericles: they guided their action purely by personal ambition, and sacrificed the public interests from a desire to humour the people.⁴ In this matter the judgement of Thucydides is inevitably coloured by his un-

¹ v. 16. 17.

² v. 16.

³ A glimpse of the communications that passed between Greek states and the Persian court is given in iv. 50, a passage which shows that Sparta had been negotiating for some time. Five years earlier certain Peloponnesian envoys had been captured in Thrace on their way to Asia to urge the king to give them money and join in the war (ii. 67). From the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes it may be inferred that similar embassies were sent from Athens. It was by the aid of Persian gold that Sparta ultimately triumphed.

⁴ ii. 65.

favourable opinion of extreme democracy: in the time of Pericles Athens was 'a democracy only in name'.

(b) Cleon advocated war, because it enabled him to conceal his own malpractices.¹ This is, on the face of it, improbable. Cleon's power was exerted in the Council, the Assembly, and the law-courts: war would give military men opportunities for distinction.

(c) He was 'the most violent of the citizens'². This charge is borne out by the savage decrees passed at his instance regarding Mytilene and Scione. The advice of Pericles, 'to keep the allies well in hand,'³ was followed with brutal harshness in these cases.

(d) He was vain and arrogant. His 'belief in his own wisdom'⁴ certainly led to disaster at Amphipolis. Whether his promise to kill or capture the Spartans at Sphacteria deserves the epithet of 'crazy' may well be doubted. Had they kept a proper watch at the few landing-places, they might easily have prevented the Athenians from disembarking; but otherwise there was no difficulty. The Athenian superiority in numbers was overwhelming, and Cleon had the good sense to associate Demosthenes with himself in the command.

As the fortune of war changed to and fro, representatives of the war and the peace parties obtained a majority on the board of generals. In the spring of 425, with which Book IV opens, the war party was in power, but the election gave a majority to Nicias and the peace party for the year 425/4.⁵ Cleon's success at Sphacteria produced a reaction, and although Nicias was re-elected the war party had a majority among the generals of 424/3. The defeat at Delium and the loss of

¹ v. 16.

² iii. 36.

³ ii. 13.

⁴ v. 7.

⁵ The elections probably took place in April and the successful candidates entered on office in July: hence the *official* year does not correspond with Thucydides' *military* year, which begins in March.

Amphipolis doubtless brought the peace-party again into power, but the names of the generals of 423/2 are quite unknown. The action of Brasidas in continuing hostilities after the armistice once more gave Cleon's party a majority for 422/1, and after Cleon's death at Amphipolis Nicias returned to office for 421/0 and concluded the Peace which terminated the first stage of the war.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Δ

SIGLA

(See Introduction, pp. xxii-xxv)

A = cod. Parisinus suppl. Gr. 255

B = cod. Vaticanus 126

C = cod. Laurentianus LXIX. 2

E = cod. Palatinus 252

F = cod. Monacensis 430

G = cod. Monacensis 228

M = cod. Britannicus 11, 727

A¹B¹ etc. = scriptura a prima manu correcta

a b etc. = scriptura a manu recentiore substituta vel
adscripta

[A] [B] etc. = verba in codice olim exarata hodie vel
evanida vel exesa

γρ. = scriptura signo γρ(ἀφ'εταί) addito adscripta

codd. = consensus codicum A B C E F G M

recc. = unus vel plures e codicibus recentioris aevi

vulgo = scriptura in editionibus vulgata

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Δ

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους περὶ σίτου ἐκβολὴν Συρακο- 1
 σίων δέκα νῆες πλεύσασαι καὶ Λοκρίδες ἵσαι Μεσσήνην τὴν
 ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατέλαβον, αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένοιων, καὶ ἀπέστη
 Μεσσήνη Ἀθηναίων. ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἱ μὲν 2
 5 Συρακόσιοι ὄρωντες προσβολὴν ἔχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς Σικελίας
 καὶ φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀρμώμενοί ποτε
 σφίσι μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπέλθωσι, οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ κατὰ
 ἔχθος τὸ Ῥηγίων, βουλόμενοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατα-
 πολεμεῖν. καὶ ἐσεβεβλήκεσαν ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ῥηγίων οἱ 3
 10 Λοκροὶ πανστρατιᾷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις,
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ ξυνεπαγόντων Ῥηγίων φυγάδων, οἳ ἦσαν παρ'
 αὐτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ Ῥήγιον ἐπὶ πολλὴν χρόνον ἐστασίαζε καὶ
 ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι, ἧ καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἐπετίθειτο. δηώσαντες δὲ οἱ μὲν Λοκροὶ τῷ πεζῷ 4
 15 ἀπεχώρησαι, αἱ δὲ νῆες Μεσσήνην ἐφρούρου· καὶ ἄλλαι
 αἱ πληρούμεναι ἔμελλον αὐτόσε ἐγκαθορμισάμεναι τὸν
 πόλεμον ἐντεῖθεν ποιήσεσθαι.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἡρος, πρὶν τὸν σίτον 2
 ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι, Πελοπονησίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον ἐς
 20 τὴν Ἀττικὴν (ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἅγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων
 βασιλεὺς), καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήκον τὴν γῆν. Ἀθηναῖοι 2
 δὲ τὰς τε τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὥσπερ
 παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Εὐρυμέ-

- δοντα καὶ Σοφοκλέα· Πυθόδωρος γὰρ ὁ τρίτος αὐτῶν ἤδη
 3 προαφίκτο ἐς Σικελίαν. εἶπον δὲ τούτοις καὶ Κερκυραῖων
 ἅμα παραπλέοντας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιμεληθῆναι, οἳ ἐλη-
 στεύοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει φυγάδων· καὶ Πελοποννησίων
 αὐτόσε νῆες ἐξήκοιτα παρεπεπλεύεσαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει 5
 τιμωροὶ καὶ λιμοῦ ὄντος μεγάλου ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες
 4 κατασχέσειν ῥαδίως τὰ πράγματα. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὄντι
 ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας αὐτῷ
 δεηθέντι εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἣν βούληται,
 περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 10
- 3 Καὶ ὥς ἐγένοντο πλέοντες κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ
 ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι αἱ νῆες ἐν Κερκύρα ἤδη εἰσὶ τῶν Πελο-
 ποννησίων, ὁ μὲν Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἠπείγοντο ἐς
 τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Πύλον πρῶτον
 ἐκέλευε σχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ πράξαντας ἅ δεῖ τὸν πλοῦν 15
 ποιεῖσθαι· ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ τύχην χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος
 2 κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης
 εὐθὺς ἡξίου τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον (ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνεκ-
 πλεῦσαι), καὶ ἀπέφαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ
 λίθων, καὶ φύσει καρτερόν ὃν καὶ ἐρήμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ 20
 πολὺ τῆς χώρας· ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἢ Πύλος
 τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ
 οὔσῃ γῇ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον.
- 3 οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου,
 ἣν βούληται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν. τῷ δὲ 25
 διάφορόν τι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐτέρου μᾶλλον,
 λιμένος τε προσόντος καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἰκείους ὄντας
 αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοις πλεῖστ'
 ἂν βλάπτειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀρμωμένους, καὶ βεβαίους ἅμα τοῦ
- 4 χωρίου φύλακας ἔσεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς 30
 στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχους

17 ἐς] ἐπὶ C G
 cett.

20 τε C : τότε cett.

18 ξυνεκπλεῦσαι C : ξυνέπλευσαν E : ξυνέπλευσε
 25 τῷ G M : τὸ cett. (ex τότε c)

κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρα-
 τιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐνέπεσε περιστάσιν ἐκτειχίσαι
 τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἐγχειρήσαντες εἰργάζοντο, σιδηρία μὲν 2
 λιθουργὰ οὐκ ἔχοιτες, λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους, καὶ
 5 ξυνετίθεσαν ὡς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνειν· καὶ τὸν πηλόν, εἴ
 που δέοι χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορία ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἔφερον,
 ἐγκεκυφότες τε, ὡς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τῷ χεῖρε
 ἐς τοῦπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀποπίπτοι. παντί τε 3
 τρόπῳ ἠπειγόντο φθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἐπιμαχώ-
 10 τατα ἐξεργασάμενοι πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ πλεόν τοῦ
 χωρίου αὐτὸ καρτερόν ὑπῆρχε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχους. οἱ δὲ 5
 ἑορτὴν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες καὶ ἅμα πυνθαίμενοι ἐν
 ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὡς, ὅταν ἐξέλθωσι, ἢ οὐχ ὑπομε-
 ροῦντας σφᾶς ἢ ῥαδίως ληφόμενοι βία· καὶ τι καὶ αὐτοὺς
 15 ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὦν ἐπέσχειν. τεichίσαντες 2
 δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἡπειροὶ καὶ ἂ μάλιστα
 ἔδει ἐν ἡμέραις ἕξ τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένη μετὰ νεῶν πέντε
 αὐτοῦ φύλακα καταλείπουσι, ταῖς δὲ πλεόσι νηυσὶ τὸν ἐς
 τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν ἠπειγόντο.
 20 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντες Πελοποινήσιοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο 6
 τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης, ἀνεχώρουν κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἶκου,
 νομίζοντες μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἅγισ ὁ βασιλεὺς
 οἰκεῖον σφίσι τὸ περὶ τὴν Πύλον· ἅμα δὲ πρὸ ἐσβαλόντες
 καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς
 25 πολλοῖς, χειμῶν τε ἐπιγενόμενος μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστη-
 κυῖαν ὥραν ἐπέεσε τὸ στράτευμα. ὥστε πολλαχόθεν ξυνέβη 2
 ἀναχωρήσαί τε θᾶσσον αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχυτάτην γενέσθαι
 τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην· ἡμέρας γὰρ πέντε καὶ δέκα ἔμειναν
 ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.
 30 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σιμωνίδης Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς 7
 Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκης Μειδαίων ἀποικίαν, πολεμίαν δὲ

1 ἡσύχαζον Dobree
 terum καὶ om. C E G M

2 ἐνέπεσε Porpo : ἐσέπεσε codd. 14 al-
 31 τὴν ἐπὶ Λ C γρ. G¹ : τῆς G : τῆς ἐπὶ cett.

οὔσαν, ξυλλέξας Ἀθηναίους τε ὀλίγους ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων καὶ τῶν ἐκείῃ ξυμμάχων πλῆθος προδιδομένην κατέλαβεν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπιβοηθησάντων Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων ἐξεκρούσθη τε καὶ ἀπέβαλε πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

- 8 Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Πελοποιήσιων οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων βραδυτέρα ἐγίγνετο ἡ ἔφοδος, ἄρτι ἀφιγμένοι ἀφ' 5 ἐτέρας στρατείας. περιύγγελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον βοηθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Πύλον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ 10 Κερκύρα ναῦς σφῶν τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἔπεμψαν, αἱ ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν καὶ λαθοῦσαι τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς ἀφικνουῖνται ἐπὶ Πύλον· παρὴν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ πεζὸς 3 στρατός. Δημοσθένης δὲ προσπλεόντων ἔτι τῶν Πελοποιήσιων ὑπεκπέμπει φθάσας δύο ναῦς ἀγγεῖλαι Εὐρυμέδοντι 15 καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀθηναίοις παρεῖναι ὥς 4 τοῦ χωρίου κινδυνεύοντος. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες κατὰ τάχος ἔπλεον κατὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλοῦντες κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐλπίζοντες 20 ῥαδίως αἰρήσειν οἰκοδόμημα διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον καὶ 5 ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων. προσδεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ζακύνθου τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν βοήθειαν ἐν νῷ εἶχον, ἥν ἄρα μὴ πρότερον ἔλωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφάρξαι, ὅπως μὴ ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐφορμίσασθαι ἐς 25 6 αὐτόν. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη τόν τε λιμένα παρατείνουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη ἔχρδον ποιεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους στενοὺς, τῇ μὲν δυοῖν νεοῖν διάπλου· κατὰ τὸ 7 τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἡπειρον ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα· ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀτριβῆς πᾶσα 30 ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἦν καὶ μέγεθος περὶ πέντε καὶ δέκα σταδίου 7 μάλιστα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔσπλους ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντιπρόροις

βύζην κλήσειν ἔμελλον· τὴν δὲ νῆσον ταύτην φοβούμενοι
 μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον σφίσι ποιῶνται, ὀπλίτας διεβί-
 βασαν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον ἄλλους ἔταξαν.
 οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε νῆσον πολεμίαν ἔσσεσθαι 8
 5 τὴν τε ἡπειρον, ἀπόβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν (τὰ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς
 Πύλου ἔξω τοῦ ἔσπλου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλίμενα οἷτα οὐχ
 ἔξειν ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι ὠφελήσουσι τοὺς αὐτῶν) σφείς δὲ
 ἄνευ τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου ἐκπολιορκήσειν τὸ χωρίον
 κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, σίτου τε οὐκ ἐνότος καὶ δι' ὀλίγης παρα-
 10 σκευῆς κατειλημμένοι. ὥς δ' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ 9
 διεβίβαζον ἐς τὴν νῆσον τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀποκληρώσαντες ἀπὸ
 πάντων τῶν λόχων. καὶ διέβησαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι πρότερον
 κατὰ διαδοχὴν, οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι καὶ ἐγκαταληφθέντες εἴκοσι
 καὶ τετρακόσιοι ἦσαν καὶ Εἰλωτες οἱ περὶ αὐτούς· ἡρχε δὲ
 15 αὐτῶν Ἐπιτάδας ὁ Μολόβρου.

Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μέλλοντας 9
 προσβάλλειν ναυσὶ τε ἅμα καὶ πεζῷ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ αὐτός,
 καὶ τὰς τριήρεις αἱ περιῆσαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειφθεῖσων
 ἀνασπάσας ὑπὸ τὸ τείχισμα προσεσταύρωσε, καὶ τοὺς
 20 ναύτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥπλισεν ἀσπίσι [τε] φαύλαις καὶ οἰσύναις
 ταῖς πολλαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὄπλα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ πορίσασθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ ληστρικῆς Μεσσηνίων τριακοντόρου καὶ
 κέλητος ἔλαβον, οἱ ἔτυχον παραγενόμενοι. ὀπλιταὶ τε
 τῶν Μεσσηνίων τούτων ὥς τεσσαράκοιτα ἐγένοντο, οἷς
 25 ἐχρήτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς τῶν τε 2
 ἀόπλων καὶ ὥπλισμένων ἐπὶ τὰ τετειχισμένα μάλιστα καὶ
 ἐχυρὰ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἔταξε, προειπὼν ἀμύ-
 νασθαι τὸν πεζόν, ἣν προσβάλλῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολεξάμενος ἐκ
 πάντων ἐξήκοντα ὀπλίτας καὶ τοξότας ὀλίγους ἐχώρει ἔξω
 30 τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσ-

1 συγκλήσειν AB 9 δι' μετ' γρ. Schol.
 μένον Dobree : κατειλημμένου codd. (προκατ. M)
 ut videtur, legit Schol. : αἵπερ ἦσαν codd.
 Stephanus 20 τε om. Suidas

10 κατειλημ-
 18 αἱ περιῆσαν,
 19 προσεσταύρωσεν

εἰσέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐς χωρία μὲν χαλεπὰ καὶ
 πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα, σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους
 ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος ἐσβιάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγείτο προ-
 3 θυμῆσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐλπίζοντές ποτε ναυσὶ κρατή-
 σεσθαι οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν ἐτείχιζον, ἐκείνοις τε βιαζομένοις τὴν 5
 4 ἀπόβασιν ἀλώσιμον τὸ χωρίον γίνεσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν
 πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν χωρήσας ἔταξε τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὡς
 εἶρξων, ἣν δύνηται, καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τοιαῦδε.

- 10 “Ἄνδρες οἱ ξυναράμενοι τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν
 ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ξυνετὸς βουλέσθω δοκεῖν εἶναι, 10
 ἐκλογιζόμενος ἅπαν τὸ περιστὸς ἡμᾶς δεινόν, μᾶλλον ἢ
 ἀπερισκέπτως εὐελπίς ὁμόσε χωρήσαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ ἐκ
 τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενος. ὅσα γὰρ ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίκται
 ὥσπερ τάδε, λογισμὸν ἥκιστα ἐνδεχόμενα κινδύνου τοῦ
 2 ταχίστου προσδεῖται. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείω ὁρῶ πρὸς ἡμῶν 15
 οὗτα, ἣν ἐθέλωμέν τε μείναι καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν κατα-
 3 πλαγέυτες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν κρείσσω καταπροδοῦναι. τοῦ
 τε γὰρ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω, ὃ μενόντων
 μὲν ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίνεται, ὑποχωρήσασι δὲ καίπερ χαλε-
 πὸν ὃν εὐπορον ἔσται μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ τὸν πολέμιον 20
 δεινότερον ἔξομεν μὴ ῥαδίας αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρή-
 σεως, ἣν καὶ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν βιάζεται (ἐπὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ῥᾶστοί
 4 εἰσιω ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐν τῷ ἴσφ’ ἤδη), τό τε πλήθος
 αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄγαν δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι· κατ’ ὀλίγον γὰρ μαχεῖται
 καίπερ πολὺ ὃν ἀπορίᾳ τῆς προσορμίσεως, καὶ οὐκ ἐν γῇ 25
 στρατός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μείζων, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ νεῶν, αἷς
 5 πολλὰ τὰ καίρια δεῖ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ξυμβῆναι. ὥστε τὰς
 τούτων ἀπορίας ἀντιπάλους ἡγοῦμαι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει,
 καὶ ἅμα ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς, Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ἐπισταμένους

3 ἐσβιάσασθαι Van Leeuwen: ἐπισπάσασθαι codd. 4 κρατη-
 θῆσεσθαι A B E F M 11 ἢ E F (sed postea crasum): om. cett.
 12 χωρήσας C G 16 γε Elmsley 18 δ Dion. Hal.: om.
 codd. 19 μὲν F. Dion. Hal.: om. cett. 21 ῥαδίας C¹ f G¹ Dion.
 Hal.: ῥαδίως cett.

ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν ναυτικὴν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀπόβασιν ὅτι, εἴ τις
ὑπομένοι καὶ μὴ φόβῳ ῥοθίου καὶ νεῶν δεινότητος κατάπλου
ὑποχωροίη, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βιάζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὺς νῦν μείναι τε
καὶ ἀμυνομένους παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν σφύξειν ἡμᾶς τε
5 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ χωρίον.'

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Δημοσθένους παρακελευσαμένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 11
ἐθάρσησάν τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπικαταβάντες ἐτάξαντο παρ' αὐτὴν
τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄραυτες τῷ τε κατὰ 2
γῆν στρατῷ προσέβαλλον τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἕμα
10 οὔσαις τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισί, ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπέπλει
Θρασυμηλίδας ὁ Κρατησικλέους Σπαρτιάτης. προσέβαλλε
δὲ ἥπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης προσεδέχετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι 3
ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἡμύνοντο· οἱ δὲ
κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι, διότι οὐκ ἦν πλέοσι προσσχεῖν,
15 καὶ ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, προ-
θυμία τε πάσῃ χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμῷ, εἴ πως ὥσάμεινοι
ἔλοιεν τὸ τεῖχος. πάντων δὲ φανερώτατος Βρασίδας 4
ἐγένετο. τριηραρχῶν γὰρ καὶ ὀρῶν τοῦ χωρίου χαλεποῦ
ὄντος τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ κυβερνήτας, εἴ που καὶ δοκοίη
20 δυνατὸν εἶναι σχεῖν, ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ φυλασσομένους τῶν
νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν, ἐβόα λέγων ὥς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη ξύλων
φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιδεῖν τεῖχος
πεποιημένους, ἀλλὰ τάς τε σφετέρας ναῦς βιαζομένους τὴν
ἀπόβασιν καταγνύναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἀπο-
25 κνήσαι ἀντὶ μεγάλων ἐνεργεσιῶν τὰς ναῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιδοῦναι, ὀκείλαντας δὲ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ
ἀποβάντας τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ χωρίου κρατῆσαι. καὶ 12
ὁ μὲν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχε καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
κυβερνήτην ἀναγκάσας ὀκεῖλαι τὴν ναῦν ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν
30 ἀποβάθραν· καὶ πειρώμενος ἀποβαίνειν ἀνεκόπη ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τραυματισθεὶς πολλὰ ἐλιποψύχησέ τε καὶ

4 ὑμᾶς Bekker 11 Θρασυμηλίδας Cobet 19 πη ABEFM
31 ἐλειποψύχησε AB: ἐλειποθύμ[ησε] G

- πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξαιρεσίαν ἢ ἀσπίς περιερρήν
 ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐξενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν γῆν οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνελόμενοι ὕστερον πρὸς τὸ τροπαῖον ἐχρήσαντο
 2 ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προθυμοῦντο
 μέν, ἀδύνατοι δ' ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι 5
 3 καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποχωρούντων. ἐς
 τοῦτό τε περιέστη ἡ τύχη ὥστε Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐκ γῆς
 τε καὶ ταύτης Λακωνικῆς ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκείνους ἐπιπλέοντας,
 Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐκ νεῶν τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πολεμίαν
 οὔσαν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἀποβαίνειν· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς 10
 δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ
 τὰ περὶ κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ
 πλείστον προὔχειν.
- 13 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας μέρος τι
 προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐπέπαινον· καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλα 15
 ἐς μηχανὰς τaréπεμψαν τῶν νεῶν τινας ἐς Ἀσίνην, ἐλπί-
 ζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως
 2 δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης ἐλεῖν (ἀν) μηχαναῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἐκ τῆς
 Ζακύνθου νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραγίγνονται τεσσαράκοντα·
 προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ τῶν τε φρουρίδων τινὲς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ 20
 3 Ναυπάκτου καὶ Χίαι τέσσαρες. ὥς δὲ εἶδον τὴν τε ἡπειρον
 ὀπλιτῶν περίπλεων τὴν τε νῆσον, ἐν τε τῷ λιμένι οὔσας τὰς
 ναῦς καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλεύσας, ἀπορήσαντες ὅπῃ καθορμίσωνται,
 τότε μὲν ἐς Πρωτὴν τὴν νῆσον, ἣ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχει ἐρήμος οὔσα,
 ἔπλευσαν καὶ ἡλίσσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία παρασκευασάμενοι ὥς 25
 ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ἣν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν
 4 ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὥς αὐτοὶ ἐπεσπλευσούμενοι. καὶ
 οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντανήγοντο οὔτε ἂ διενεοήθησαν, φάρξαι τοὺς
 ἔσπλους, ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες, ἡσυχάζοντες δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ τὰς τε
 ναῦς ἐπλήρουν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ἣν ἐσπλέη τις, ὥς ἐν 30
 14 τῷ λιμένι ὄντι οὐ σμικρῷ ναυμαχῆσυντες. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι

17 ἔχον Ullrich
sexaginta Valla

18 ἀν add. Madvig
 28 &] δ Classen

19 πεντήκοντα recs.:

γινόντες καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸν ἔσπλον ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς,
καὶ τὰς μὲν πλείους καὶ μετεώρους ἤδη τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀντι-
πρώρους προσπεσόντες ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐπι-
διώκοντες ὡς διὰ βραχέος ἔτρωσαν μὲν πολλὰς, πέντε δὲ
5 ἔλαβον, καὶ μίαν τούτων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς
ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυῖαις ἐνέβαλλον. αἱ δὲ καὶ πληρούμεναι
ἔτι πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι ἐκόπτοντο· καὶ τινες καὶ ἀναδούμενοι
κενὰς εἴλκον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμημένων. ἃ ὁρῶντες 2
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ περιαλγούντες τῷ πάθει, ὅτι περ αὐτῶν
οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, παρεβοήθουν, καὶ
ἐπεσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνθεῖλκον
ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν νεῶν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλύσθαι ἐδόκει
ἕκαστος ᾧ μὴ τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν. ἐγένετό τε ὁ 3
θόρυβος μέγας καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένου τοῦ ἐκατέρων τρόπου
15 περὶ τὰς ναῦς· οἳ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ
ἐκπλήξεως ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐνανυμάχουν, οἳ
τε Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦντες καὶ βουλόμενοι τῇ παρουσίᾳ τύχῃ
ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπεξελθεῖν ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεξομάχουν. πολὺν 4
τε πόνον παρασχόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τραυματίσαντες διεκρί-
20 θησαν, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς κενὰς ναῦς πλὴν τῶν τὸ
πρῶτον ληφθεῖσων διέσωσαν. καταστάντες δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐς 5
τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ νεκροὺς
ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ναυαγίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐθὺς
περιέπλεον καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειλημ-
25 μένων· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων
ἤδη βεβοηθηκότες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ.

Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὡς ἡγγέλθη τὰ γεγενημένα περὶ 15
Πύλον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ τὰ τέλη κατα-
βάντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον βουλευεῖν παραχρήμα ὁρῶντας
30 ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ· καὶ ὡς εἶδον ἀδύνατον ὄν τιμωρεῖν τοῖς 2
ἀνδράσι καὶ κινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐβούλουντο ἢ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τι

14 ἀντηλλαγμένου] *commutata* . . . *forma dimicandi* Valla: ἀντηλλα-
γμένος codd. 29 παραχρήμα] πρὸς τὸ χρήμα E (agnovit Schol.)

- παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ πλῆθους βιασθέντας κρατηθῆναι, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἣν ἐθέλωσι, σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἀποστεῖλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις περὶ ξυμβάσεως καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας
- 16 ὥς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι κομίσασθαι. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν στρα- 5
τηγῶν τὸν λόγον ἐγίνοντο σποιδὰι τοιαῖδε, Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἐν αἷς ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν μακραί, παραδοῦναι κομίσαντας ἐς Πύλον Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τῷ τειχίσματι μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ 10 ἄνδράσι σίτον ἔαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκπέμπειν τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον, δύο χοίνικας ἐκάστω Ἀττικὰς ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἴνου καὶ κρέας, θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμίσεια· ταῦτα δὲ ὀρώντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐσπέμπειν καὶ πλοῖον μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν λάθρα· φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ τὴν 15 νήσον Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν ἦσσαν, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ στρατῷ μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν. ὅτι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν 2 ἑκάτεροι καὶ ὁτιοῦν, τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σποιδὰς. ἐσπείσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέχρι οὗ ἐπανέλθωσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακε- 20 δαιμονίων πρέσβεις· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τριῖναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ πάλιν κομίσαι. ἐλθόντων δὲ τὰς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηναίους ὁμοίας οἷας περ 3 ἂν παραλάβωσιν. αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ αἱ νῆες παρεδόθησαν οὔσαι περὶ ἐξήκοντα, καὶ οἱ πρέ- 25 σβεις ἀπεστάλησαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεξαν τοιαῖδε.
- 17 Ἐπεμψαν ἡμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀνδρῶν πράξοντας ὅτι ἂν ὑμῶν τε ὠφέλιμον ὦν τὸ αὐτὸ πείθωμεν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐς τὴν ξυμφορὰν ὥς ἐκ τῶν 30 2 παρόντων κόσμον μάλιστα μέλλῃ οἶσιν. τοὺς δὲ λόγους

1 post βιασθέντας add. ἢ A B E F M
17 Πελοποννησίῳ A B F M [G]

11 ἐσπέμπειν Dobree

μακροτέρους οὐ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς μηχανοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιχώριον
 ὃν ἡμῖν οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρήσθαι, πλέοσι
 δὲ ἐν ᾧ ἂν καιρὸς ἥ διδάσκοντάς τι τῶν προύργου λόγοις τὸ
 δέον πράσσειν. λάβετε δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμῶς μηδ' ὥς 3
 5 ἀξύνετοι διδασκόμενοι, ὑπόμνησιν δὲ τοῦ καλῶς βουλευέσασθαι
 πρὸς εἰδότας ἡγησάμενοι.
 Ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐτυχίαν τὴν παροῦσαν ἔξεστι καλῶς θέσθαι, 4
 ἔχουσι μὲν ὧν κρατεῖτε, προσλαβοῦσι δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν,
 καὶ μὴ παθεῖν ὅπερ οἱ ἀήθως τι ἀγαθὸν λαμβάνοντες τῶν
 10 ἀνθρώπων· αἰεὶ γὰρ τοῦ πλείονος ἐλπίδι ὀρέγονται διὰ τὸ
 καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀδοκίμως εὐτυχήσαι. οἷς δὲ πλείσται 5
 μεταβολαὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ξυμβεβήκασιν, δίκαιοί εἰσι καὶ
 ἀπιστότατοι εἶναι ταῖς εὐπραγίαις· ὃ τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει
 δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡμῖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος προσεΐη.
 15 γινώτε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς ἡμετέρας νῦν ξυμφορὰς ἀπιδόντες, 18
 οὔτινες ἀξίωμα μέγιστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχοντες ἤκομεν παρ'
 ὑμᾶς, πρότερον αὐτοὶ κυριώτεροι νομίζοντες εἶναι δοῦναι ἐφ'
 ἃ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ὑμᾶς αἰτούμεθα. καίτοι οὔτε δυνάμει 2
 ἐνδεία ἐπάθομεν αὐτὸ οὔτε μείζονος προσγενομένης ὑβρί-
 20 σαντες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν αἰεὶ ὑπαρχόντων γνώμῃ σφαλέντες, ἐν
 ᾧ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει. ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς διὰ 3
 τὴν παροῦσαν νῦν ῥώμην πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν προσγεγεινη-
 μένων καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης οἶεσθαι αἰεὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι.
 σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔτινες τὰγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς 4
 25 ἔθεντο (καὶ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ εὐξυνετώτερον ἂν προσ-
 φέρουντο), τόν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἂν τις
 αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται μεταχειρίζειν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἀλλ'
 ὥς ἂν αἱ τύχαι αὐτῶν ἡγήσωνται· καὶ ἐλάχιστ' ἂν οἱ
 τοιοῦτοι πταίνοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ τῷ ὀρθομένῳ αὐτοῦ πιστεῦον-
 30 τες ἐπαίρεσθαι ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν ἂν μάλιστα καταλίσσονται.
 ὃ νῦν ὑμῖν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καλῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρᾶξαι, 5

15 νῦν om. A E F M [B]
 οὕτω Dobree

24 ἀναμφίβολον Hude
 29 αὐτοὺς A B E F M

27 τοῦτ'

καὶ μή ποτε ὕστερον, ἦν ἄρα μὴ πειθόμενοι σφαλῆτε, ἃ πολλὰ ἐνδέχεται, νομισθῆναι τύχη καὶ τὰ νῦν προχωρήσαντα κρατῆσαι, ἐξὸν ἀκίνδυνον δόκησιν ἰσχύος καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα καταλιπεῖν.

- 19 Ἰακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ὑμᾶς προκαλοῦνται ἐς σπονδὰς καὶ 5
 διάλυσιν πολέμου, διδοῖντες μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ ξυμμαχίαν καὶ
 ἄλλην φιλίαν πολλήν καὶ οἰκειότητα ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπάρχειν,
 ἀνταιοῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄμεινον
 ἡγούμενοι ἀμφοτέροις μὴ διακινδυνεύεσθαι, εἴτε βία δια-
 φύγειεν παρατυχοῦσης τινὸς σωτηρίας εἴτε καὶ ἐκπολιορκη- 10
 2 θέντες μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθεῖεν. νομίζομέν τε τὰς μεγάλας
 ἔχθρας μάλιστ' ἂν διαλύεσθαι βεβαίως, οὐκ ἦν ἀνταμυνόμενός
 τις καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τὰ πλείω τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀνάγκην
 ὅρκοις ἐγκαταλαμβάνων μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ξυμβῆ, ἀλλ' ἦν 15
 3 νικήσας παρὰ ἃ προσεδέχετο μετρίως ξυναλλαγῇ. ὀφείλων
 γὰρ ἤδη ὁ ἐναντίος μὴ ἀνταμύνεσθαι ὥς βιασθείς, ἀλλ'
 ἀνταποδοῦναι ἀρετήν, ἐτοιμότερός ἐστιν αἰσχύνη ἐμμένειν
 4 οἷς ξυνέθετο. καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τοὺς μειζύτως ἐχθροὺς τοῦτο
 ὀρώσω οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἢ πρὸς τοὺς τὰ μέτρια διενεχθέντας· 20
 πεφύκασί τε τοῖς μὲν ἐκουσίως ἐνδοῦσιν ἀνθησάσθαι
 μεθ' ἡδονῆς, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπεραυχοῦντα καὶ παρὰ γνώμην
 διακινδυνεύειν.
- 20 Ἡμῖν δὲ καλῶς, εἴπερ ποτέ, ἔχει ἀμφοτέροις ἢ ξυναλλαγῇ,
 πρὶν τι ἀνῆκεστον διὰ μέσου γενόμενον ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν, εἰ 25
 ᾧ ἀνάγκη ἀλδιον ὑμῖν ἔχθραν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχειν,
 2 ὑμᾶς δὲ στερηθῆναι ὧν νῦν προκαλούμεθα. ἔτι δ' ὄντων
 ἀκρίτων καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν δόξης καὶ ἡμετέρας φιλίας προσγι-
 γνομένης, ἡμῖν δὲ πρὸ αἰσχροῦ τινὸς ξυμφορᾶς μετρίως
 κατατιθεμένης διαλλαγῶμεν, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἀντὶ πολέμου 30
 εἰρήνην ἐλώμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν ἀνάπαυσιν κακῶν

13 πολεμίον Stahl

C G

27 ἡμᾶς C (sed corr. C')

15 αὐτὸν recc.: αὐτὸ codd.

29 post τινὸς add. τῆς Stahl

ποιήσωμεν· οἱ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὑμᾶς αἰτιωτέρους ἡγήσονται.
πολεμοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρῳι ἀρξάντων· κατα-
λύσεως δὲ γενομένης, ἥς νῦν ὑμεῖς τὸ πλέον κύριοί ἐστε,
τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν προσθήσουσιν. ἦν τε γυνώτε, Λακεδαιμονίους 3
5 ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν φίλους γενέσθαι βεβαίως, αὐτῶν τε προκαλεσα-
μένων χαρισισμένοις τε μᾶλλον ἢ βιασαμένοις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ 4
τὰ ἐνόντα ἀγαθὰ σκοπεῖτε ὅσα εἰκὸς εἶναι· ἡμῶν γὰρ καὶ
ὑμῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων τό γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἴστε ὅτι
ὑποδεέστερον ὢν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει·

10 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοσαῦτα εἶπον, νομίζοντες τοὺς 21
Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ σποινδῶν μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν, σφῶν
δὲ ἐναντιουμένειν κωλύεσθαι, διδομένης δὲ εἰρήνης ἀσμένους
δέξεσθαι τε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποδώσειν. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν 2
σπονδὰς, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἤδη σφίσιν
15 ἐνόμιζον ἐτοίμους εἶναι, ὁπόταν βούλωνται ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς
αὐτοὺς, τοῦ δὲ πλέονος ὠρέγοιτο. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς 3
ἐνήγε Κλέων ὁ Κλεινέτου, ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκείνῳι
τὸν χρόνον ὢν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθαιώτατος· καὶ ἔπεισει
ἀποκρίνασθαι ὥς χρὴ τὰ μὲν ὄπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν
20 τῇ νήσῳ παραδόντας πρῶτον κομισθῆναι Ἀθήνας, ἐλθόντων
δὲ ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίους Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ
Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς
προτέρας ξυμβάσεως Ἀθηναίων ξυγχωρησάντων κατὰ ξυμ-
φορὰς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε δεομένων τι μᾶλλον σποινδῶν, κομί-
25 σασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ὁπόσον ἂν
δοκῇ χρόνον ἀμφοτέροις. οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν 22
οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, ξυνέδρους δὲ σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ἐλέσθαι οὔτινες
λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες περὶ ἐκάστου ξυμβήσονται κατὰ
ἡσυχίαν ὅτι ἂν πείθωσιν ἀλλήλους. Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ 2
30 πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, λέγων γινώσκειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν
εἶν' ἢ ἔχοντας δίκαιον αὐτοὺς, σαφὲς δ' εἶναι καὶ νῦν,

3 γινομένης A B E F M [G] 6 βιασαμένων C G 12 ἀσμένως C
13 δέξεσθαι G : δέχεσθαι A B : δέξασθαι cett.

- οἷτινες τῷ μὲν πλήθει οὐδὲν ἐθέλουσιν εἰπεῖν, ὀλίγοις δὲ
 ἀνδράσι ξύνεδροι βούλονται γίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ὑγιὲς
 3 διανοοῦνται, λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἅπασιν. ὄρωντες δὲ οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε σφίσιν οἶόν τε ὃν ἐν πλήθει εἰπεῖν, εἴ
 τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ξυγχωρεῖν, μὴ ἐς 5
 τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες, οὔτε
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ μετρίοις ποιήσοντας ἃ προυκαλοῦντο,
 23 ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄπρακτοι. ἀφικομένων δὲ
 αὐτῶν διελέλυντο εὐθὺς αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ περὶ Πύλον, καὶ τὰς
 ναῦς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπήτουν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο· οἱ δ' 10
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες ἐπιδρομὴν τε τῷ τειχίσματι
 παράσπονδον καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι οὐκ
 ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ εἴρητο, ἐὰν καὶ ὅτιοῦν
 παραβαθῇ, λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 ἀντέλεγόν τε καὶ ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸ τῶν νεῶν 15
 2 ἀπελθόντες ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύλον
 ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ κράτος ἐπολεμεῖτο, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δυοῖν
 νεοῖν ἐναντία αἰεὶ τὴν νῆσον περιπλέοντες τῆς ἡμέρας
 (τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ ἅπασαι περιώρμουν, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ
 πέλαγος, ὁπότε ἄνεμος εἴη· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτοῖς 20
 εἴκοσι νῆες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι
 ἐβδομήκοιτα ἐγένοντο), Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ εἰν τε τῇ ἡπείρῳ
 στρατοπεδεύομενοι καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι τῷ τείχει,
 σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας
 σῶσαι. 25
- 24 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ-
 μαχοι πρὸς ταῖς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ φρουρούσαις ναυσὶ τὸ ἄλλο
 ναυτικὸν ὃ παρεσκευάζοντο προσκομίσαιτες τὸν πόλεμον·
 2 ἐποιοῦντο ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης (καὶ μάλιστα ἐνῆγον οἱ
 Λοκροὶ τῶν Ῥηγίνων κατὰ ἔχθραν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐσεβεβλή- 30
 3 κεσαν πανδημεὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν), καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπο-

4 εἴ τι Porro: εἴτε codd.
 codd. 18 νεοῖν om. A B E F M. fortasse etiam C

9 διελέλυντο Cobet: διελύοντο

πειρᾶσθαι ἐβούλοντο, ὀρώντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς μὲν
παρούσας ὀλίγας ναῦς, ταῖς δὲ πλέοσι καὶ μελλούσαις
ἤξειν πυνθανόμενοι τὴν νῆσον πολιορκεῖσθαι. εἰ γὰρ 4
κρατήσκειαν τῷ ναυτικῷ, τὸ Ῥήγιον ἡλπιζον πεζῇ τε καὶ
5 ναυσὶν ἐφορμοῦντες ῥαδίως χειρώσεσθαι, καὶ ἤδη σφῶν
ἰσχυρὰ τὰ πράγματα γίνεσθαι· ζύνεγγυς γὰρ κειμένου τοῦ
τε Ῥηγίου ἀκρωτηρίου τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς τε Μεσσήνης τῆς
Σικελίας, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις [τε] οὐκ ἂν εἶναι ἐφορμεῖν καὶ τοῦ
πορθμοῦ κρατεῖν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς ἢ μεταξύ Ῥηγίου 5
10 θάλασσα καὶ Μεσσήνης, ἥπερ βραχύτατον Σικελία τῆς
ἡπείρου ἀπέχει· καὶ ἔστιν ἡ Χάρυβδις κληθεῖσα τοῦτο, ἥ
Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται διαπλεῦσαι. διὰ στενότητα δὲ καὶ ἐκ
μεγάλων πελαγῶν, τοῦ τε Τυρσηνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ,
ἐσπίπτουσα ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ῥοώδης οὔσα εἰκότως
15 χαλεπὴ ἐνομίσθη. ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ μεταξύ οἱ Συρακοῖοι 25
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ναυσὶν ὀλίγῃ πλέοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἡναγ-
κάσθησαν ὃψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ναυμαχῆσαι περὶ πλοίου δια-
πλέοντος, ἀντεπαναγόμενοι πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίων ναῦς ἑκαίδεκα
καὶ Ῥηγίνας ὀκτώ. καὶ νικηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ 2
20 τάχους ἀπέπλευσαν ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον ἐς τὰ οἰκεία στρατό-
πεδα, τό τε ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ, μίαν ναῦν
ἀπολέσαντες· καὶ νύξ ἐπεγένετο τῷ ἔργῳ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο 3
οἱ μὲν Λοκροὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ῥηγίνων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν
Πελωρίδα τῆς Μεσσήνης ξυλλεγείσαι αἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων
25 καὶ ξυμμάχων νῆες ὥρμουν καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς παρήν.
προσπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι ὀρώντες τὰς 4
ναῦς κενὰς ἐνέβαλον, καὶ χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ ἐπιβληθείσῃ μίαν
ναῦν αὐτοὶ ἀπόλεσαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκολυμβησάντων. καὶ 5
μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐσβάντων ἐς τὰς ναῦς καὶ
30 παραπλεύοντων ἀπὸ κάλῳ ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην, αὐθις προσ-
βαλόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποσιμωσάντων ἐκείνων καὶ προεμ-

2 ναῦς ὀλίγας Cobet 5 χειρώσασθαι ABFM 8 τε om.
recc. 18 ἀντεπαγόμενοι ABF 21 τό τε . . . Ῥηγίῳ secl. Her-
werden 28 αὐτοὶ C Schol.: αὐτοῖς cett.

- 6 βαλόντων, ἐτέραν ναῦν ἀπολλύνουσιν. καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ
καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιουτοτρόπῳ γενομένη οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες
οἱ Συρακόσιοι παρεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ
λιμένα.
- 7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, Καμαρίνης ἀγγελεΐσης προ- 5
δίδοσθαι Συρακοσίοις ὑπ' Ἀρχίου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ,
ἔπλευσαν ἐκεῖσε· Μεσσήνιοι δ' ἐν τούτῳ πανδημεῖ κατὰ
γῆν καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Νάξου τὴν Χαλ-
8 κιδικὴν ὁμορον οὔσαν. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τειχήρεις ποιή-
σαντες τοὺς Ναξίους ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ταῖς 10
μὲν ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν τὴν
9 γῆν ἐδῆουν, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέβαλλον. ἐν
τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σικελοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων πολλοὶ κατέβαινον
βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους. καὶ οἱ Νάξιοι ὡς εἶδον,
θαρσύναντες καὶ παρακελευόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὡς οἱ Λεοντῖνοι 15
σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ξύμμαχοι ἐς τιμωρίαν ἐπέρ-
χονται, ἐκδραμόντες ἄφνω ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προσπίπτουσι
τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ τρέψαντες ἀπέκτεινάν τε ὑπὲρ χιλίους
καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον· καὶ γὰρ
οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς πλείστους 20
10 διέφθειραν. καὶ αἱ νῆες σχοῦσαι ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ὕστερον
ἐπ' οἶκον ἕκασται διεκρίθησαν. Λεοντῖνοι δὲ εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ὡς κεκακωμένην
ἐστράτεον, καὶ προσβάλλοντες οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸν
λιμένα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπείρων, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. 25
11 ἐπεκδρομὴν δὲ ποιησάμενοι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Λοκρῶν τινὲς
μετὰ τοῦ Δημοτέλους, οἱ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ἐγκατελείφθησαν
φρουροί, ἑξαπιναίως προσπεσόντες τρέπουσι τοῦ στρατεύ-
ματος τῶν Λεοντίνων τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν πολλούς.
ιδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀποβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐβόή- 30
θουν, καὶ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους πάλιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν,

12 ἐσέβαλον G: προσέβαλλον Porro 13 post Σικελοὶ add. οἱ
Krüger 16 οἱ om. ABF 24 προσβαλόντες BM 25 ἐπει-
ρῶντο Schol.

τεταραγμένοις ἐπιγενόμενοι· καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώ-
ρησαν εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ 12
Ἕλληνες ἄνευ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ γῆν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ'
ἀλλήλους.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πύλῳ ἔτι ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λακε- 26
δαιμονίους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατόπεδον
τῶν Πελοποννησίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν. ἐπίποιος δ' ἦν 2
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡ φυλακὴ σίτου τε ἀπορία καὶ ὕδατος· οὐ
γὰρ ἦν κρήνη ὅτι μὴ μία ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Πύλου
10 καὶ αὕτη οὐ μεγάλη, ἀλλὰ διαμώμειοι τὸν κάχληκα οἱ
πλείστοι ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἔπινον οἶον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ. στενο- 3
χωρία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατοπεδενομένοις ἐγίνετο, καὶ τῶν νεῶν
οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ὄρμον αἱ μὲν σίτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ἥρουντο κατὰ
μέρος, αἱ δὲ μετέωροι ὥρμουν. ἀθυμῖαν τε πλείστην ὁ 4
15 χρόνος παρείχετο παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνόμενος, οὓς ᾤοντο
ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπολιορκήσειν ἐν νήσῳ τε ἐρήμῃ καὶ ὕδατι
ἀλμυρῷ χρωμένους. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προει- 5
πόντες εἰς τὴν νήσον ἐσάγειν σίτον τε τὸν βουλόμενον
ἀληλεμένον καὶ οἶνον καὶ τυρὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βρώμα, οἷ'
20 ἂν εἰς πολιορκίαν ξυμφέρῃ, τάξαντες ἄργυρίου πολλοῦ καὶ
τῶν Εἰλώτων τῷ ἐσαγαγόντι ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι.
καὶ ἐσῆγον ἄλλοι τε παρακινδυνεύοντες καὶ μάλιστα οἱ 6
Εἰλωτες, ἀπαίροντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὅποθεν τύχοιεν
καὶ καταπλέοντες ἔτι νυκτὸς εἰς τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς
25 νήσου. μάλιστα δὲ ἐτήρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεσθαι· ῥᾶον 7
γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τριήρων ἐλάνθανον, ὅποτε πνεῦμα ἐκ
πόντου εἴη· ἄπορον γὰρ ἐγίνετο περιορμεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδῆς
ὁ κατάπλους καθειστήκει· ἐπώκελλον γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα τετιμη-
μένα χρημάτων, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται περὶ τὰς κατάρσεις τῆς
30 νήσου ἐφύλασσον. ὅσοι δὲ γαλήνῃ κινδυνεύσειαν, ἡλί-
σκοντο. ἐσένεον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα κολυμβηταὶ ὕφυδροι, 8

19 ἀληλεσμένον B E (-ησμένον) G M Suid. οἶον A B E F M γρ. G'
20 ξυμφέρῃ A B f: ξυμφέροι G: ξυμφέρει cett. 30 post δὲ add. ἐν Krüger
31 δὲ om. A B E F M κολυμβηταὶ f Suid.: κολυμβητοὶ codd.

καλῳδίῳ ἐν ἄσκοις ἐφέλκοντες μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ
 λίνου σπέρμα κεκομμένον· ὧν τὸ πρῶτον λανθανόντων
 9 φυλακαὶ ὕστερον ἐγένοντο. παντί τε τρόπῳ ἑκάτεροι
 ἐτεχνῶντο οἱ μὲν ἐσπέμπειν τὰ σιτία, οἱ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν
 σφᾶς.

5

- 27 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πυνθανόμενοι περὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς
 ὅτι ταλαιπωρεῖται καὶ σῖτος τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεῖ,
 ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ σφῶν χειμῶν τὴν φυλακὴν
 ἐπιλάβοι, ὀρώντες τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων τὴν περὶ τὴν Πελο-
 πόννησον κομιδὴν ἀδύνατον ἐσομένην, ἅμα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ 10
 καὶ οὐδ' ἐν θέρει οἰοί τε ὄντες ἱκανὰ περιπέμπειν, τὸν τε
 ἔφορμον χωρίων ἀλιμένων ὄντων οὐκ ἐσόμενον, ἀλλ' ἢ
 σφῶν ἀνέντων τὴν φυλακὴν περιγενήσεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
 ἢ τοῖς πλοίοις ἢ τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἦγε χειμῶνα τηρήσαντας
 2 ἐκπλεύσεσθαι. πάντων τε ἐφοβοῦντο μάλιστα τοὺς Λακε- 15
 δαιμονίους, ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι
 σφίσιν ἐπικηρυκεῖσθαι· καὶ μετεμέλοντο τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ
 3 δεξάμενοι. Κλέων δὲ γιούς αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψίαν
 περὶ τῆς κωλύμης τῆς ξυμβάσεως οὐ τάληθ' ἔφη λέγειν
 τοὺς ἐξαγγέλλοντας. παραινούντων δὲ τῶν ἀφιγμένῳι, εἰ 20
 μὴ σφίσι πιστεύουσιν, κατασκόπους τινας πέμψαι, ἡρέθη
 4 κατάσκοπος αὐτὸς μετὰ Θεαγένους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. καὶ
 γιούς ὅτι ἀναγκασθήσεται ἢ ταῦτα λέγειν οἷς διέβαλλεν ἢ
 τὰναντία εἰπὼν ψευδὴς φανήσεσθαι, παρήνει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,
 ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠρμημένους τι τὸ πλεόν τῇ γνώμῃ στρα- 25
 τεύειν, ὥς χρὴ κατασκόπους μὲν μὴ πέμπειν μηδὲ διαμέλ-
 λειν καιρὸν παριέντας, εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀληθὴ εἶναι τὰ
 5 ἀγγελλόμενα, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ ἐς Νικίαν τὸν
 Νικηράτου στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἀπεσήμαινεν, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ
 ἐπιτιμῶν, ῥᾷδιον εἶναι παρασκευῇ, εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοί, 30
 πλεύσαντας λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ αὐτός γ' ἂν, εἰ

3 τε] γε ABE: δὲ F
 Θεογένους cett.

15 δὲ ABFM
 24 φανήσεται Krüger

22 Θεαγένους G:

ἦρχε, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο. ὁ δὲ Νικίας τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι 28
 ὑποθορυβησάντων ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα, ὅτι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖ, εἰ
 ῥᾷδιόν γε αὐτῷ φαίνεται, καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα,
 ἐκέλευεν ἦντινα βούλεται δύνάμιν λαβόντα τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς
 5 εἶναι ἐπιχειρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἰόμενος αὐτὸν λόγῳ 2
 μόνον ἀφίεναι ἐτοῖμος ἦν, γνούς δὲ τῷ ὄντι παραδωσείοιτα
 ἀνεχώρει καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνων στρατηγεῖν, δεδιὼς
 ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰομένους οἱ αὐτὸν τολμήσαι ὑποχωρῆσαι.
 αὐθις δὲ ὁ Νικίας ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλῳ ἀρχῆς 3
 10 καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος
 φιλεῖ ποιεῖν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέων ὑπέφενγε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ
 ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα, τόσῳ ἐπεκελεύοντο τῷ Νικίᾳ παρα-
 διδόναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβῶν πλεῖν. ὥστε οὐκ 4
 ἔχων ὅπως τῶν εἰρημένων ἔτι ἐξαπαλλαγῇ, ὑφίσταται τὸν
 15 πλοῦν, καὶ παρελθὼν οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι ἔφη Λακεδαιμονίους
 πλεῦσεσθαι τε λαβὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐδένα, Λημνίους
 δὲ καὶ Ἴμβριους τοὺς παρόντας καὶ πελταστὰς οὐ ᾗσαν ἔκ-
 τε Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρακοσίους·
 ταῦτα δὲ ἔχων ἔφη πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Πύλῳ στρατιώταις ἐντὸς
 20 ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν ἢ ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίους ζῶντας ἢ αὐτοῦ
 ἀποκτενεῖν. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐνέπεσε μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος 5
 τῇ κουφολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀσμένους δ' ὅμως ἐγίγνετο τοῖς σώ-
 φροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, λογιζομένοις δυοῖν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου
 τεύξεσθαι, ἢ Κλέωνος ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι, ὃ μᾶλλον ἥλπιζοι,
 25 ἢ σφαλεῖσι γνώμῃς Λακεδαιμονίους σφίσι χειρώσεσθαι.
 Καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ψη- 29
 φισαμένων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ τὸν πλοῦν, τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ
 στρατηγῶν ἕνα προσελόμενος Δημοσθέει, τὴν ἀναγωγὴν
 διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένη προσέλαβε πνι- 2
 30 θανόμενος τὴν ἀπόβασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διανοεῖσθαι.
 οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται κακοπαθοῦντες τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ

19 ἔφη om. M (in fine folii)
 ABFM

22 ἐγένετο G
 28 ἀναγωγὴν C: ἀγωγὴν cett. [G]

25 χειρώσασθαι

- μᾶλλον πολιορκούμενοι ἢ πολιορκούντες ὥρμητο διακιν-
 δυεῖν. καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτι ῥώμην καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα
 3 παρέσχεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ οὔσης αὐτῆς ὑλώδους ἐπὶ τὸ
 πολὺ καὶ ἀτριβοῦς διὰ τὴν αἰεὶ ἐρημίαν ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ πρὸς
 τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε μᾶλλον εἶναι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν 5
 στρατοπέδῳ ἀποβάντι ἐξ ἀφανοῦς χωρίου προσβάλλοντας
 αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν. σφίσι μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐκείνων ἀμαρτίας
 καὶ παρασκευὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δῆλα εἶναι,
 τοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου καταφανῇ ἂν εἶναι πάντα τὰ
 ἀμαρτήματα, ὥστε προσπίπτειν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδοκῆτως 10
 ἢ βούλουντο· ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γὰρ εἶναι ἂν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν.
 4 εἰ δ' αὖ ἐς δασὺ χωρίον βιάζοιτο ὁμόσε ἰέναι, τοὺς ἐλάσ-
 σους, ἐμπείρους δὲ τῆς χώρας, κρείσσους ἐνόμιζε τῶν πλεόνων
 ἀπείρων· λανθάνειν τε ἂν τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον πολὺ ὃν
 διαφθειρόμενοι, οὐκ οὔσης τῆς προσόψεως ἢ χρῆν ἀλλήλοις 15
 30 ἐπιβοηθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ πάθους, ὃ διὰ τὴν
 2 ὕλην μέρος τι ἐγένετο, οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐσῆι. τῶν
 δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθέντων διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς
 νήσου τοῖς ἐσχάτοις προσίσχοντας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι διὰ
 προφυλακῆς καὶ ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης 20
 ἄκοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου τὸ πολὺ
 3 αὐτῆς ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίους
 μᾶλλον κατιδὼν πλείους ὄντας, ὑπονοῶν πρότερον ἐλάσσοσι
 τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ ἐσπέμπειν, τὴν τε νῆσον εὐαποβατωτέραν
 οὔσαν, τότε ὥς ἐπ' ἀξιόχρεων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον 25
 σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν παρεσκευάζετο, στρατιάν
 τε μεταπέμπων ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς ξυμμάχων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 ἐτοιμάζων.
 4 Κλέων δὲ ἐκείνῳ τε προπέμψας ἄγγελον ὥς ἦξων καὶ
 ἔχων στρατιὰν ἣν ᾗτήσατο, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πύλον. καὶ ἅμα 30

3 παρείχε G M

15 προσόψεως Porpo

24 αὐτόσε Krüger

αὐτῆς οὔσης AB

χρῆ Porpo

25-26 τότε . . .

11 ἂν εἶναι ABF

19 προϊσχοντας AB EFM

25-26 τότε . . . ποιεῖσθαι in codd. post
 ἐσπέμπειν leguntur, transposuit Krüger

γενόμενοι πέμπουσι πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατόπεδον
 κήρυκα, προκαλούμενοι, εἰ βούλωιντο, ἄνεν κινδύνου τοὺς ἐν
 τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρας σφίσι τά τε ὄπλα καὶ σφῶς αὐτοὺς κελεύειν
 παραδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ φυλακῇ τῇ μετρία τηρήσονται, ἕως ἂν τι
 5 περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν 31
 μίαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐπέσχον, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀνηγάγοντο μὲν
 νυκτὸς ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς τοὺς ὀπλίτας πάντας ἐπιβιβάσαντες,
 πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑω ὀλίγον ἀπέβαινον τῆς νήσου ἐκατέρωθεν, ἕκ
 τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος, ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα
 10 ὄντες ὀπλῖται, καὶ ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον φυλα-
 κτήριον τῆς νήσου. ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ 2
 πρώτῃ φυλακῇ ὡς τριάκοντα ἦσαν ὀπλῖται, μέσον δὲ καὶ
 ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν καὶ
 Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων εἶχε, μέρος δέ τι οὐ πολὺ αὐτὸ τὸ
 15 ἔσχατον ἐφύλασσε τῆς νήσου τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον, ὃ ἦν ἕκ
 τε θαλάσσης ἀπόκρημνον καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡκιστα ἐπίμαχον·
 καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιὸν λίθων λογάδην
 πεποιημένον, ὃ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ὠφέλιμον ἂν εἶναι, εἰ
 καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιότερα. οὕτω μὲν τεταγμένοι
 20 ἦσαν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδρα- 32
 μον, εὐθὺς διαφθείρουσιν ἔν τε ταῖς εἰναῖς ἔτι καὶ ἀναλαμ-
 βάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα, λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, οἰόμενων αὐτῶν
 τὰς ναῦς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐς ἔφορμον τῆς νυκτὸς πλεῖν. ἅμα 2
 25 δὲ ἑφ' γιγνομένη καὶ ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀπέβαινον, ἐκ μὲν
 νεῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεόνων πάντες πλὴν θα-
 λαμιῶν, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐσκευασμένοι, τοξόται δὲ ὀκτακόσιοι
 καὶ πελτασταὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσους τούτων, Μεσσηνίων τε οἱ
 βεβοηθηκότες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι περὶ Πύλον κατεῖχον πάντες
 30 πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους φυλάκων. Δημοσθένους δὲ τάξαν- 3

5 αὐτῶν] αὐ C E
 codd.

9 πρὸς] πρὸ C G
 22 καὶ in codd. post ὄπλα legitur, transposui (post ἔτι add.

14 αὐτὸ Bauer: αὐτοῦ

καὶ Abresch)

25 ἀπέβαινον vulgo: ἐπέβαινον codd.

27 δὲ

Krüger: τε codd.

29 οἱ C: om. cett.

τος διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους, ἔστι δ' ἢ
 ἐλάσσους, τῶν χωρίων τὰ μετεωρότατα λαβόντες, ὅπως ὅτι
 πλείστη ἀπορία ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις πανταχόθεν κεκυκλω-
 μένοις καὶ μὴ ἔχουσι πρὸς ὅτι ἀντιτάσσονται, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολοι
 γίνωνται τῷ πλήθει, εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπίοιεν, ὑπὸ τῶν 5
 κατόπιω βαλλόμενοι, εἰ δὲ τοῖς πλαγίοις, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκατέ-
 4 ρωθεν παρατεταγμένων. κατὰ νώτου τε αἰεὶ ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς,
 ἢ χωρήσειαν, οἱ πολέμιοι ἔσεσθαι ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπορώτατοι,
 τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόταις ἐκ πολλοῦ
 ἔχοντες ἀλκὴν, οἷς μὴδὲ ἐπελθεῖν οἶόν τε ἦν· φεύγοντές τε 10
 γὰρ ἐκράτουν καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο.

- Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη ὁ Δημοσθένης τό τε πρῶτον τὴν
 33 ἀπόβασιν ἐπενόει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
 Ἐπιτάδαν καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὡς εἶδον
 τό τε πρῶτον φυλακτῆριον διεφθαρμένον καὶ στρατὸν σφίσιν 15
 ἐπιόντα, ξυνετάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ἐπῆσαν, βουλόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἐξ ἐναντίας γὰρ
 οὗτοι καθειστήκεσαν, ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ κατὰ νώτον.
 2 τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὀπλίταις οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν προσμείζαι οὐδὲ τῇ
 σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ψιλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν 20
 βάλλοντες εἶργον, καὶ ἅμα ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἀντεπῆσαν, ἀλλ'
 ἡσύχαζον· τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς, ἢ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέοντες
 προσκείμετο, ἔτρεπον, καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἡμύνοντο, ἄνθρω-
 ποι κούφως τε ἔσκευασμένοι καὶ προλαμβάνοντες ῥαδίως 25
 τῆς φυγῆς χωρίων τε χαλεπότητι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἐρημίας
 τραχέων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἐδύναντο διώκειν
 34 ὅπλα ἔχοντες. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ὀλίγον οὕτω πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους ἡκροβολίσαντο· τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκέτι
 ὀξέως ἐπεκθεῖν ἢ προσπίπτοιεν δυναμένων, γνόντες αὐτοὺς
 οἱ ψιλοὶ βραδυτέρους ἤδη ὄντας τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ 30

1 τε om. C [G]
 νοις cett. [G]
 tinguit Classen
 φυγῇ Held

3 κεκυκλωμένοις M suprascr. AB: κεκωλυμέ-
 4 ἔχουσι F: ἔχουσι cett. 8 post πολέμιοι dis-
 22 ἐπιθέοντες G M: προσθέοντες cett. 25 τῇ

τῇ τε ὄψει τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστοι' εἰληφότες πολλα-
 πλάσιοι φαινόμενοι καὶ ξυνειθισμένοι μᾶλλον μηκέτι δεινούς
 αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως σφίσι φαίνεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἄξια τῆς
 προσδοκίας ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ὥσπερ ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπέβαινον τῇ
 5 γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, καταφροινή-
 σαντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθροοὶ ὥρμησαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ
 ἐβαλλον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις, ὡς ἕκαστός
 τι πρόχειρον εἶχεν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς βοῆς ἅμα τῇ 2
 ἐπιδρομῇ ἐκπληξίς τε ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις ἀήθεσι τοιαύτης
 10 μάχης καὶ ὁ κοινορτὸς τῆς ὕλης ἰεωστὶ κεκαυμένης ἐχώρει
 πολὺς ἄνω, ἄπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν
 τοξευμάτων καὶ λίθων ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ
 κοινορτοῦ ἅμα φερομένων. τό τε ἔργον ἐνταῦθα χαλεπὸν 3
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καθίστατο· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πῖλοι ἔστεγοι
 15 τὰ τοξεύματα, δοράτιά τε ἐναπεκέκλαστο βαλλομένῳι, εἶχόν
 τε οὐδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ
 ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων
 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἔσακούοντες, κινδύνου τε
 πανταχόθεν περιεστῶτος καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα καθ' ὅτι
 20 χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι. τέλος δὲ τραυματιζομένων ἤδη 35
 πολλῶν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ξυγκλή-
 σαντες ἐχώρησαν εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον ἔρυμα τῆς νήσου, ὃ οὐ
 πολὺ ἀπέειχε, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φύλακας. ὡς δὲ ἐνέδοσαν, 2
 ἐνταῦθα ἤδη πολλῷ ἔτι πλέονι βοῇ τεθαρσηκότες οἱ ψιλοὶ
 25 ἐπέκειντο, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὅσοι μὲν ὑποχωροῦντες
 ἐγκατελαμβάνοντο, ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ διαφυγόντες εἰς
 τὸ ἔρυμα μετὰ τῶν ταύτη φυλάκων ἐτάξαντο παρὰ πᾶν ὡς
 ἀμυνόμενοι ἥπερ ἦν ἐπίμαχον. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπισπόμενοι 3
 περίοδον μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν χωρίου ἰσχύι οὐκ εἶχον,
 30 προσιόντες δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας ὤσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ χρόνον 4
 μὲν πολλὸν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστοι' ταλαιπωρούμενοι

I πλείστον] πιστὸν Dobree
 28 ἀμυνόμενοι A B E F M

II αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐτοῦ codd.

ἀμφοτέροι ὑπὸ τῆς μάχης καὶ δίψης καὶ ἡλίου ἀντείχον, πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐξελάσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι· ῥᾶον δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡμύνοντο ἢ ἐν τῷ πρίν, οὐκ οὔσης σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως ἐς τὰ πλάγια.

- 36 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων 5 στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς· εἰ δὲ βούλονται ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος τι καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν περιέμεναι κατὰ νότου αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ ἢ ἂν αὐτὸς εὕρῃ, 2 δοκεῖν βιάσεσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον. λαβὼν δὲ ἃ ᾗτήσατο, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὁρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ 10 παρείκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προσβαίνων, καὶ ἢ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχύι πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσαν, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελθὼν ἔλαθε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανεῖς κατὰ νότου αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ ἐξέπληξε, τοὺς δὲ ἃ προσεδέχοντο ἰδόντας πολλῶ 15 μᾶλλον 3 ἐπέρρωσεν. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βαλλόμενοί τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτώματι, ὥς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι, τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί 20 τε ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντείχον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενεῖα σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκράτουν ἤδη τῶν ἐφόδων.
- 37 Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης [ὅτι], εἰ καὶ ὕπο- 25 σονοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδῶσόνσι, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ἔπαυσαν τὴν μάχην καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν 25 ἀπείρξαν, βουλόμενοι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους ζῶντας, εἴ πως τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀκούσαντες ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ.
- 2 ἐκήρυξάν τε, εἰ βούλονται, τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι καὶ σφᾶς

1 δίψης EM suprascr. G : δίψους cett. suprascr. M 2 τοῦ om.
CG 3 ἡμύναντο ABEFM 9 βιάσεσθαι Madvig : βιάσασθαι
codd. 11 ab litt. -us incipit papyrus Oxyrhynchius (O) προσ-
βαίνων etiam O : προβαίνων B 12 post χωρίου add. τι O (del. O!)
13 μόλις suprascr. O 23 ὅτι om. O 29 βούλονται O : βού-
λονται codd.

αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστε βουλευῆσαι ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ.
οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρήκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τὰς 38
χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν, δηλοῦντες προσέεισθαι τὰ κεκηρυγμένα.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῆς ἀνοκωχῆς ξυνήλθον ἐς λόγους
5 ὃ τε Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ἐκείνων Στύφων ὁ
Φάρακος, τῶν πρότερον ἀρχόντων τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τεθνη-
κότος Ἐπιτάδου, τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰππαγρέτου ἐφηρημένον
ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔτι ζῶντος κειμένου ὡς τεθνεώτος, αὐτὸς
τρίτος ἐφηρημένος ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τι ἐκείνοι πᾶσχοιεν.
10 ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Στύφων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι βούλονται διακηρυ- 2
κεύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ὅτι χρὴ
σφᾶς ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα ἀφέντων, αὐτῶν δὲ 3
τῶν Ἀθηναίων καλούντων ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου κήρυκας καὶ γενο-
μένων ἐπερωτήσεων δις ἢ τρίς, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας
15 αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνὴρ ἀπήγ-
γειλεν ὅτι [οἱ] 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι κελεύουσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βουλευέσθαι μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας' οἱ δὲ
καθ' ἑαυτοὺς βουλευσάμενοι τὰ ὅπλα παρέδοσαν καὶ σφᾶς
αὐτούς. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα 4
20 ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ
μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τᾶλλα
διεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῖς τριηράρχοις
διεδίδοσαν ἐς φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κήρυκα πέμ-
ψαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς διεκομίσαντο. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ 5
25 καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν τοσοῖδε· εἴκοσι μὲν ὀπλίται διέβησαν
καὶ τετρακόσιοι οἱ πάντες· τούτων ζῶντες ἐκομίσθησαν
ὀκτὼ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπέθανον. καὶ
Σπαρτιᾶται τούτων ἦσαν τῶν ζώντων περὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.
'Αθηναίων δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν· ἡ γὰρ μάχη οὐ
30 σταδαία ἦν.

6 προτέρων O (suprascr. o) prioribus Valla 10 ἔλεξεν O 14 post
ἐπερωτήσεων add. ἢ O (del. O¹) 15 ἀπήγγελλεν suprascr. O
16 οἱ om. O 21 τᾶλλα O : τὰ ἄλλα codd. [G] 23 διέδοσαν O
30 σταδαία suprascr. O : σταδία cett.

- 39 Χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας ἐγένετο ὅσιν οἱ ἄνδρες [οἱ] ἐν τῇ
 νήσῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ
 2 νήσῳ μάχης, ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο. τούτων περὶ
 εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οἱ πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν
 ἀπῆσαν, ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τοῖς ἐσπλέονσι λάθρα 5
 διετρέφοντο. καὶ ἦν σῆτος τις ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄλλα βρώ-
 ματα ἐγκατελήφθη· ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων Ἐπιτάδας ἐνδεεστέρως
 3 ἐκάστω παρέιχεν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
 καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου
 ἑκάτεροι ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα 10
 ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη· ἐντὸς γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ἤγαγε τοὺς
 40 ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη. παρὰ γνώμην τε δὴ μάλιστα τῶν
 κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο· τοὺς γὰρ
 Λακεδαιμονίους οὔτε λιμῶ οὔτ' ἀνάγκη οὐδεμιᾷ ἤξιουν τὰ
 ὄπλα παραδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ ἔχοντας καὶ μαχομένους ὡς ἐδύναντο 15
 2 ἀποθνήσκειν. ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας
 τοῖς τεθνεώσιν ὁμοίους, καὶ τινος ἐρομένου ποτὲ ὕστερον τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχων δι' ἀχθηδόνα ἕνα τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου
 αἰχμαλώτων εἰ οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ καγαθοί, ἀπεκρί-
 ναιτο αὐτῷ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον, λέγων τὸν 20
 οἰστόν, εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίνωσκε, δήλωσιν ποιούμενος
 ὅτι ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξέυμασι διεφθείρετο.
 41 Κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλευσαν
 δεσμοῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβῶσιν, ἦν
 δ' οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸ τούτου ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσβάλωσιν, 25
 2 ἐξαγαγόντες ἀποκτεῖναι. τῆς δὲ Πύλου φυλακὴν κατεστή-
 σαιτο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου Μεσσηνῖοι ὡς ἐς πατρίδα
 ταύτην (ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὔσης γῆς)
 πέμψαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους ἐλήζοντό τε

1 οἱ om. MO

6 τις O: om. codd.

7 ἐγκατελείφθη

ABO (suprascr. η)

9 οἱ del. O¹

15 ἕως fort. legit Schol.

19 καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ABEFM

post καγαθοὶ add. [ἦσ'αν vel [εἶ'εν O

24 in litt. δε- desinit O

25 ἐσβάλωσιν GM: ἐσβάλλωσιν cett.

29 ἐληίζοντό f: ἐλήιζόν codd. [G]

τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πλείστα ἐβλαπτον ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες. οἱ 3
 δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ληστείας
 καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου πολέμου, τῶν τε Εἰλώτων αὐτομολούντων
 καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον σφίσι τι νεωτερισθῇ
 5 τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, οὐ ῥαδίως ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὐ
 βουλόμενοι ἐνδῆλοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρ'
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὴν τε Πύλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομί-
 ζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ μειζόνων τε ὠρέγοντο καὶ πολλάκις φοιτῶντων 4
 αὐτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπον. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Πύλον
 10 γενόμενα.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους μετὰ ταῦτα εὐθὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν 42
 Κορινθίαν ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοιτα καὶ δισχιλίους
 ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐν ἵππαγωγοῖς ναυσὶ διακοσίοις ἱππεύσιν·
 ἡκολούθουν δὲ καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Μιλήσιοι καὶ Ἀνδριοὶ καὶ
 15 Καρύστιοι, ἐστρατήγει δὲ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου τρίτος αὐτός.
 πλείοντες δὲ ἅμα ἔφ' ἔσχον μεταξὺ Χερσονήσου τε καὶ Ῥείτου 2
 ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ χωρίου ὑπὲρ οὗ ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος ἐστίν,
 ἐφ' ὃν Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορι-
 θίοις ἐπολέμουν οὖσιν Αἰολεῦσιν· καὶ κώμη ἰνὺν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 20 Σολύγεια καλουμένη ἐστίν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τούτου
 ἔνθα αἱ ἡῆες κατέσχον ἡ μὲν κώμη αὕτη δώδεκα σταδίους
 ἀπέχει, ἡ δὲ Κορινθίων πόλις ἐξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ Ἰσθμὸς εἴκοσι.
 Κορίνθιοι δὲ προπυθόμενοι ἐξ Ἀργεῶν ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ ἤξει 3
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐκ πλείονος ἐβοήθησαν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν πάντες
 25 πλὴν τῶν ἔξω Ἰσθμοῦ· καὶ ἐν Ἀμπρακίᾳ καὶ ἐν Λευκάδι
 ἀπῆσαν αὐτῶν πεντακόσιοι φρουροί· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πανδημεὶ
 ἐπετήρουν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ κατασχέουσιν. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὺς 4
 ἔλαθον νυκτὸς καταπλεύσαντες καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῖς ἦρθη,
 καταλιπόντες τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν ἐν Κεγχρεῖδι, ἣν ἄρα οἱ
 30 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸν Κρομμυῶνα ἴωσιν, ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος.
 καὶ Βάττος μὲν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν 43

2 ἀπαθεῖς margo Stephani 3 τοῦ om. A B F M [G] 5 οὐ]
 οἱ A B E F [G] 25 Λευκάδι Cobet: Λευκαδίᾳ codd. 26 ἀπῆσαν
 Bauer: ἀπῆσαν codd.

- τῇ μάχῃ οἱ παρόντες) λαβὼν λόχον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολύγειαν
 κώμην φυλάξων ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, Λυκόφρων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 2 ξυνέβαλεν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 εὐθὺς ἀποβεβηκότι πρὸ τῆς Χερσονήσου οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπ-
 έκειντο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατεύματι. καὶ ἦν ἡ 5
 3 μάχῃ καρτερὰ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ πᾶσα. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καρυστίων (οὗτοι γὰρ παρατεταγμένοι
 ἦσαν ἔσχατοι) ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Κοριυθίους καὶ ἐώσαντο
 μόλις· οἱ δὲ ὑποχωρήσαντες πρὸς αἵμασιάν (ἦν γὰρ τὸ
 χωρίον πρόσαντες πᾶν) βάλλοντες τοῖς λίθοις καθύπερθεν 10
 ὄντες καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν αὖθις, δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν
 4 Ἀθηναίων ἐν χερσὶν ἦν πάλιν ἡ μάχῃ. λόχος δέ τις τῶν
 Κοριυθίων ἐπιβοηθήσας τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρα ἑαυτῶν ἔτρεψε
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας καὶ ἐπεδίωξεν ἐς τὴν θά-
 λασσαν· πάλιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀνέστρεψαν οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι 15
 5 καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀμφοτέρωθεν
 ἐμάχετο ξυνεχῶς, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κοριυθίων,
 ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Λυκόφρων ὦν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ἡμύνετο· ἤλπιζον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Σολύγειαν κώμην
 44 πειράσειν. χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολλὸν ἀντεῖχον οὐκ ἐνδιδόντες 20
 ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα (ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ ἱππῆς
 ὠφέλιμοι ξυμμαχόμενοι, τῶν ἐτέρων οὐκ ἐχόντων ἵππους)
 ἐτράποντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑπεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν λόφον
 καὶ ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ οὐκέτι κατέβαινον, ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζον.
 2 ἐν δὲ τῇ τροπῇ ταύτῃ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας οἱ πλείστοί τε 25
 αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον καὶ Λυκόφρων ὁ στρατηγός. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη
 στρατιὰ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οὐ κατὰ δίωξιν πολλὴν οὐδὲ
 ταχείας φυγῆς γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἐβιάσθη, ἐπαναχωρήσασα
 3 πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἰδρύθη. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥς οὐκέτι αὐ-
 τοῖς ἐπῆσαν ἐς μάχην, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον καὶ τοὺς 30
 4 ἑαυτῶν ἀνιηροῦντο, τροπαῖόν τε εὐθέως ἔστησαν. τοῖς δ'

3 ξυνέβαλλε(ν) A B E F M

ἐπ' αὐτῶν Schol. Patm.

13 ἐπιβοήσας A B E F M

πρῶτον A B F

II παιανίσαντες F': παιωνίσαντες cett.

ἑαυτῶν C : ἑαυτῶν cett. [G]

10 ἐπ' αὐτῶν E:

ἡμίσεσι τῶν Κορινθίων, οἳ ἐν τῇ Κεγχρειᾷ ἐκάθηντο φύλακες
 μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Κρομμυῶνα πλεύσωσι, τούτοις οὐ κατάδηλος ἡ
 μάχη ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ Ὀνείου· κονιορτὸν δὲ ὥς εἶδον
 καὶ [ὥς] ἔγνωσαν, ἐβοήθουν εὐθύς. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
 5 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Κορινθίων αἰσθόμενοι τὸ
 γεγενημένον. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ζύμπαντας αὐτοὺς 5
 ἐπιόντας καὶ νομίσαντες τῶν ἐγγὺς ἀστυγειτόνων Πελο-
 ποννησίων βοήθειαν ἐπιέναι, ἀνεχώρουν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὰς
 ναῦς, ἔχοντες τὰ σκυλεύματα καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς πλὴν
 10 δυοῖν, οὓς ἐγκατέλιπον οὐ δυνάμενοι εὐρεῖν. καὶ ἀναβάντες 6
 ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπεραιωθήσαν ἐς τὰς ἐπικειμένας νήσους, ἐκ
 δ' αὐτῶν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς οὓς ἐγκατέλιπον
 ὑποσπόνδους ἀνείλυντο. ἀπέθανον δὲ Κορινθίων μὲν ἐν τῇ
 μάχῃ δώδεκα καὶ διακόσιοι, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους
 15 πεντήκοντα.

Ἄραυτες δὲ ἐκ τῶν νήσων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν αὐθη- 45
 μερὸν ἐς Κρομμυῶνα τῆς Κορινθίας· ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους. καὶ καθορμισάμενοι τὴν τε
 γῆν ἐδήλωσαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἠϋλίσαντο. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία 2
 20 παραπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν πρῶτον καὶ ἀπόβασιν
 τινα ποιησάμενοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μέθανα τὴν μεταξὺ Ἐπι-
 δαύρου καὶ Τροιζήνης, καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὸν τῆς χερσονήσου
 ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχισαν, [ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μεθώνη ἐστί,] καὶ φρούριον
 καταστησάμενοι ἐλήστεον τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τὴν τε Τροι-
 25 ζηνίαν γῆν καὶ Ἀλιάδα καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίαν. ταῖς δὲ νανσίν,
 ἐπειδὴ ἐξετείχισαν τὸ χωρίον, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἶκον.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ 46
 Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου ἀπήραν
 ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν νανσὶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Κέρκυραν
 30 ἐστράτευσαν μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει

4 ὥς om. G M: ὥς Stahl 21 Μέθανα legit Strabo: Μεθώνην
 (quod ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις invenit Strabo) codd. 23 ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μεθώνη
 ἐστὶ secl. Stahl 27 καθ' ὃν om. A B E F 29 post Σικελίαν
 lacunam statuit Krüger

- τῆς Ἰστώνης Κερκυραίων καθιδρυμένους, οἱ τότε μετὰ τὴν
στάσιν διαβάντες ἐκράτουν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον.
2 προσβαλόντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τείχισμα εἰλοῖ, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατα-
πεφευγότες ἄθροοι πρὸς μετέωρόν τι ξυνέβησαν ὥστε τοὺς
μὲν ἐπικούρους παραδοῦναι, περὶ δὲ σφῶν τὰ ὄπλα παρα- 5
3 δόντων τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον διαγνῶναι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν
νῆσον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν Πτυχίαν ἐς φυλακὴν διεκόμισαν
ὑποσπόιδους, μέχρι οὗ Ἀθήναζε πεμφθῶσιν, ὥστ', ἐάν τις
4 ἀλφ' ἀποδιδράσκων, ἅπασι λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. οἱ δὲ
τοῦ δῆμου προστάται τῶν Κερκυραίων, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθη- 10
ναῖοι τοὺς ἐλθόντας οὐκ ἀποκτείνωσι, μηχανῶνται τοιόνδε
5 τι· τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πείθουσιν τινὰς ὀλίγους, ὑποπέμψαντες
φίλους καὶ διδάξαντες ὥς κατ' εὐνοίαν διὰ λέγειν ὅτι κρά-
τιστον αὐτοῖς εἴη ὥς τάχιστα ἀποδρᾶναι, πλοῖον δέ τι αὐτοῖς
ἐτοιμάσειν· μέλλειν γὰρ δὴ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων 15
47 παραδώσειν αὐτοὺς τῷ δῆμῳ τῶν Κερκυραίων. ὥς δὲ ἔπεισαν,
καὶ μηχανησαμένων τὸ πλοῖον ἐκπλέοντες ἐλήφθησαι, ἐλέ-
λυντό τε αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ τοῖς Κερκυραίοις παρεδίδοντο οἱ
2 πάντες. ξυνελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὥστε
ἀκριβῆ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς τεχνησαμένους 20
ἀδεέστερον ἐγχειρῆσαι, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατά-
δηλοι ὄντες τοὺς ἄνδρας μὴ ἂν βούλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων
κομισθέντας, διότι αὐτοὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον, τὴν τιμὴν
3 τοῖς ἄγουσι προσποιῆσαι. παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ
Κερκυραῖοι ἐς οἶκημα μέγα κατεΐρξαν, καὶ ὕστερον ἐξ- 25
άγοντες κατὰ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας διῆγον διὰ δυοῖν στοίχων
ὀπλιτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρατεταγμένων, δεδεμένους τε πρὸς
ἀλλήλους καὶ παιομένους καὶ κεντουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν παρα-
τεταγμένων, εἴ πού τις τινα ἴδοι ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ· μαστιγο-
φόροι τε παριόντες ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς σχολαίτερον 30
48 προΐόντας. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐξήκοντα ἔλαβον τοὺς ἐν τῷ

1 τῇ Ἰστώνη Dobree

6 τῶν A B F

8 ὥστ', ἐάν Stahl :

ὥστε, ἄν codd.

11 τοὺς] αὐτοὺς Poppo

18 παρεδέδοντο A B E F

31 προΐόντας Duker : προσιδόντας codd.

οικήματι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἔξαγαγόντες καὶ διαφθείραντες
(ῥοῖντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς μεταστήσουντάς ποι ἄλλοσε ἄγειν)· ὥς
δὲ ἦσθοντο καὶ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσε, τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους
ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐκέλευον σφᾶς, εἰ βούλονται, αὐτοὺς δια-
5 φθείρειν, ἔκ τε τοῦ οἰκήματος οὐκέτι ἤθελον ἐξιέναι, οὐδ'
ἐσιέναι ἔφασαν κατὰ δύναμιν περιόψεσθαι οὐδένα. οἱ δὲ 2
Κερκυραῖοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς θύρας οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διεισοῦντο
βιάζεσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος τοῦ οἰκήματος καὶ
διελόντες τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔβαλλον τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ ἐτόξευον
10 κάτω. οἱ δὲ ἐφυλάσσοντό τε ὥς ἐδύναντο καὶ ἅμα οἱ 3
πολλοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διέφθειρον, οἰστούς τε οὓς ἀφίεσαν
ἐκείνοι ἐς τὰς σφαγὰς καθιέντες καὶ ἐκ κλινῶν τινῶν αἱ
ἔτυχον αὐτοῖς ἐνοῦσαι τοῖς σπάρτοις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων
παραιρήματα ποιοῦντες ἀπαγχόμενοι, παιτί (τε) τρόπῳ τὸ
15 πολὺ τῆς νυκτός (ἐπεγένετο γὰρ νύξ τῷ παθήματι) ἀναλοῦντες
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ βαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν αἰῶ διεφθάρησαν.
καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, φορμηδὸν 4
ἐπὶ ἀμάξας ἐπιβαλόντες ἀπήγαγον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. τὰς δὲ
γυναῖκας, ὅσαι ἐν τῷ τειχίσματι ἐάλωσαν, ἠνδραποδίσαντο.
20 τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Κερκυραῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου 5
διεφθάρησαν, καὶ ἡ στάσις πολλὴ γενομένη ἐτελεύτησεν ἐς
τοῦτο, ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν ὑπό-
λοιπον τῶν ἐτέρων ὅτι καὶ ἀξιόλογον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς 6
τὴν Σικελίαν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὥρμητο, ἀποπλεύσαντες
25 μετὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων ἐπολέμουν.

Καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἅμα 49
τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους στρατευσάμενοι Ἀνακτόριον Κο-
ρινθίων πόλιν, ἣ κεῖται ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ
κόλπου, ἔλαβον προδοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκπέμψαντες [Κορινθίους]

1 διαφθείροντες A B E F M 2 μεταστήσουντας Schäfer : μεταστή-
σαντας codd. ἄλλοσε ἄγειν F¹ G M : ἄλλοσ' ἐπάγειν C : ἄλλοσ'
ἐσάγειν cett. 14 τε add. Porpo 15 ἀναλοῦντες Suid. Zonar. :
ἀναδοῦντες codd. 19 ἠνδραπόδισαν Meineke 29 Κορινθίους
secl. Dobree

αὐτοὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἰκήτορας ἀπὸ πάντων ἔσχον τὸ χωρίον.
καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

- 50 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἀριστείδης ὁ Ἀρχίππου,
εἰς τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, αἱ ἐξε-
πέμφθησαν πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους, Ἀρταφέρνην ἄνδρα Πέρσην 5
παρὰ βασιλέως πορευόμενον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ξυλλαμβάνει
2 ἐν Ἡϊόνι τῇ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς μεταγραφάμενοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων
γραμματῶν ἀνέγνωσαν, ἐν αἷς πολλῶν ἄλλων γεγραμμένων
κεφάλαιον ἦν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, οὐ γινώσκειν ὅτι βού- 10
λονται· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐλθόντων πρέσβειων οὐδένα ταῦτα
λέγειν· εἰ οὖν τι βούλονται σαφὲς λέγειν, πέμψαι μετὰ
3 τοῦ Πέρσου ἄνδρας ὡς αὐτόν. τὸν δὲ Ἀρταφέρνην ὕστερον
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρει ἐς Ἑφεσον καὶ πρέσβεις
ἅμα· οἱ πυθόμενοι αὐτόθι βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου 15
νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν)
ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν.

- 51 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Χῖοι τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον τὸ
καινὸν κελευσάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὑποπτευσάντων ἐς αὐτοὺς
τι νεωτεριεῖν, ποιησάμενοι μέντοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πίστεις 20
καὶ βεβαιότητα ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν μηδὲν περὶ σφᾶς νεώτερον
βουλευσείν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἔβδομον ἔτος τῷ
πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε δὴ Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

- 52 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς τοῦ τε ἡλίου ἐκλιπές
τι ἐγένετο περὶ νουμηνίαν καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἱσταμένου 25
2 ἔσεισεν. καὶ οἱ Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Λεσβίων, ὀρμώμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ μισθω-
σάμενοι ἔκ τε Πελοποννήσου ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ αὐτόθεν ξυνα-
γείραντες, αἰρουῶσι Ῥότιον, καὶ λαβόντες δισχιλίους στατήρας
3 Φωκαῖτας ἀπέδωσαν πάλιν οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο 30
ἐπὶ Ἀντανδρον στρατεύσαντες προδοσίας γενομένης λαμβά-

1 οἰκήτορας C E Schol. : οἰκήτορες cett. [G]
13 ἀνδρὺς A B E F M

12 τι om. A B E F M

νουσι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τὰς τε ἄλλας
 πόλεις τὰς Ἀκταίας καλουμένας, ἃς πρότερον Μυτιληναίων
 νεμομένων Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, ἐλευθεροῦν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα
 τὴν Ἄντανδρον· καὶ κρατυνάμενοι αὐτὴν (ναῦς τε γὰρ εὐπορία
 5 ἦν ποιεῖσθαι, αὐτόθεν ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἰδης ἐπι-
 κειμένης, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ σκευῇ) ῥαδίως ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι
 τὴν τε Λέσβον ἐγγὺς οὔσαν κακώσκειν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ
 Αἰολικὰ πολίσματα χειρώσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα παρα-
 σκευάζεσθαι ἔμελλον.
 10 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ 53
 δισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἱππεῦσί τε ὀλίγοις καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων
 Μιλησίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀγαγόντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ
 Κύθηρα· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ
 Νικόστρατος ὁ Διειτρέφους καὶ Ἀντοκλῆς ὁ Τολμαίου. τὰ 2
 15 δὲ Κύθηρα νήσός ἐστιν, ἐπικείται δὲ τῇ Λακωνικῇ κατὰ
 Μαλέαν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν περιόικων, καὶ κυθηρο-
 δίκης ἀρχὴ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης διέβαινεν αὐτόσε κατὰ ἔτος,
 ὀπλιτῶν τε φρουρὰν διέπεμπον αἰεὶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
 ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης 3
 20 ὀλκάδων προσβολή, καὶ λησταὶ ἅμα τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἡσσαν
 ἐλύπουν ἐκ θαλάσσης, ἥπερ μόνον οἶόν τε ἦν κακουργεῖσθαι·
 πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνέχει πρὸς τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος.
 κατασχόντες οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ στρατῷ, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ 54
 καὶ δισχιλίοις Μιλησίων ὀπλίταις τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλιν
 25 Σκάνδειαν καλουμένην αἰροῦσι, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ στρατεύματι
 ἀποβάντες τῆς νήσου ἐς τὰ πρὸς Μαλέαν τετραμμένα ἐχώ-
 ρουν ἐπὶ τὴν [ἐπὶ θαλάσση] πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων, καὶ ἡῦρον
 εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστρατοπεδευμένους ἅπαντας. καὶ μάχης γενο- 2
 μένης ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον ὑπέστησαν οἱ Κυθήριοι, ἔπειτα
 30 τραπόμενοι κατέφυγον ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, καὶ ὕστερον ξυνέ-
 βησαν πρὸς Νικίαν καὶ τοὺς ξυνάρχοντας Ἀθηναίους ἐπιτρέψαι

6 τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη Rutherford
 σασθαι codd.

8 χειρώσεσθαι Stephanus : χειρώ-
 27 ἐπὶ θαλάσση secl. Krüger

- 3 περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν πλὴν θανάτου. ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ γενόμενοι
 τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι πρότερον πρὸς τινας τῶν Κυθηρίων, δι' ὃ καὶ
 θάσσουν καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον τό τε παραντίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα
 τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐπράχθη αὐτοῖς· ἀνέστησαν γὰρ <ἂν> οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι Κυθηρίους, Λακεδαιμονίους τε ὄντας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ 5
- 4 Λακωνικῇ τῆς νήσου οὕτως ἐπικειμένης. μετὰ δὲ τὴν
 ξύμβασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε Σκάνδειαν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι
 πόλισμα παραλαβόντες καὶ τῶν Κυθήρων φυλακὴν ποιησά-
 μενοι ἔπλευσαν ἔς τε Ἀσίην καὶ Ἑλὸς καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν
 περὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιοῦμενοι καὶ ἐναυλιζόμενοι 10
 τῶν χωρίων οὗ καιρὸς εἶη ἐδήρουν τὴν γῆν ἡμέρας μάλιστα
 ἐπτά.
- 55 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰδόντες μὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὰ
 Κύθηρα ἔχοντας, προσδεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν
 ἀποβάσεις τοιαύτας ποιήσεσθαι, ἄθρόα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ τῇ 15
 δυνάμει ἀντετάξαντο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν χώραν φρουρὰς διέ-
 πεμψαν, ὀπλιτῶν πλήθος, ὥς ἐκασταχόσε ἔδει, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 ἐν φυλακῇ πολλῇ ἦσαν, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι νεώτερόν τι
 γένηται τῶν περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν, γεγεννημένου μὲν τοῦ ἐν
 τῇ νήσῳ πάθους ἀνελπίστου καὶ μεγάλου, Πύλου δὲ ἐχομένης 20
 καὶ Κυθήρων καὶ πανταχόθεν σφῶς περιεστῶτος πολέμου
- 2 ταχέος καὶ ἀπροφυλάκτου, ὥστε παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἱππέας
 τετρακοσίους κατεστήσαντο καὶ τοξότας, ἔς τε τὰ πολεμικά,
 εἴπερ ποτέ, μάλιστα δὴ ὀκνηρότεροι ἐγένοντο, ξυνεστῶτες
 παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν τῆς παρασκευῆς ναυτικῇ 25
 ἀγῶνι, καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, οἷς τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειροῦμενον
- 3 αἰεὶ ἐλλιπὲς ἦν τῆς δοκίσεώς τι πράξειν· καὶ ἅμα τὰ τῆς
 τύχης πολλὰ καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ ξυμβάντα παρὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς
 ἐκπληξιν μεγίστην παρεῖχε, καὶ ἐδέδισαν μὴ ποτε αὖθις
- 4 ξυμφορά τις αὐτοῖς περιτύχη οἷα καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. ἀτολμό- 30
 τεραι δὲ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἦσαν, καὶ πᾶν ὅτι κινήσειαν

4 τὰ recc. : om. codd.

ἂν add. Heilmann

19 ἐν] ἐπὶ

A B E F M γρ. G

22 ταχέος cf M : ταχέως ceti. [G]

31 ἦσαν

Cobet

ῥοντο ἁμαρτήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν γνώμην ἀνεχέγγνοι γεγε-
 νῆσθαι ἐκ τῆς πρὶν ἀθθείας τοῦ κακοπραγεῖν. τοῖς δὲ 56
 Ἀθηναίοις τότε τὴν παραθαλάσσιον δηοῦσι τὰ μὲν πολλὰ
 ἡσύχασαν, ὥς καθ' ἑκάστην φρουρὰν γίγνοιτό τις ἀπόβασις,
 5 πλήθει τε ἐλάσσους ἕκαστοι ἡγούμενοι εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ
 τοιούτῳ· μία δὲ φρουρά, ἥπερ καὶ ἡμῦνато περὶ Κοτύρταν
 καὶ Ἀφροδιτίαν, τὸν μὲν ὄχλον τῶν ψιλῶν ἐσκεδασμένον
 ἐφόβησεν ἐπιδρομῇ, τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν δεξαμένων ὑπεχώρησε
 πάλιν, καὶ ἄνδρες τέ τινες ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄπλα
 10 ἐλήφθη, τροπαῖον τε στήσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν
 ἐς Κύθηρα. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν περιέπλευσαν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν 2
 Λιμηράν, καὶ δηώσαντες μέρος τι τῆς γῆς ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ
 Θυρέαν, ἥ ἐστι μὲν τῆς Κυνourίας γῆς καλουμένης, μεθορία
 δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς· νεμόμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν ἔδοσαν
 15 Λακεδαιμόνιοι Αἰγινῆταις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ἐνοικεῖν διὰ τε τὰς
 ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν σφίσι γενομένας καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τὴν
 ἐπανάστασιν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὑπακούοντες
 ὅμως πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην αἰεὶ ἔστασαν.

Προσπλεόντων οὖν ἔτι τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ Αἰγινῆται τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ 57
 20 τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὃ ἔτυχον οἰκοδομοῦντες τεῖχος ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐς δὲ
 τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ ὥκουν, ἀπεχώρησαν, ἀπέχουσιν σταδίους
 μάλιστα δέκα τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 2
 φρουρὰ μία τῶν περὶ τὴν χώραν, ἥπερ καὶ ξυνετείχιζε,
 ξυνεσελθεῖν μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος οὐκ ἠθέλησαν δεομένων τῶν
 25 Αἰγινητῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
 κατακλίεσθαι· ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα, ὥς
 οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἀξιόμαχοι εἶναι, ἡσύχαζον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ 3
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατασχόντες καὶ χωρήσαντες εὐθὺς πάσῃ τῇ
 στρατιᾷ αἰροῦσι τὴν Θυρέαν. καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν κατέκαυσαν
 30 καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα ἐξεπόρθησαν, τοὺς τε Αἰγινῆτας, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν
 χερσὶ διεφθάρησαν, ἄγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ
 τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, Τάνταλον

7 Ἀφροδιτίαν Herodianus: Ἀφροδισίαν codd. (-ίαν M)
 ουρίας A B 18 ἐστᾶσι(ν) A B C G

13 Κυνοσ-

4 τὸν Πατροκλέους· ἐξωγρήθη γὰρ τετρωμένος. ἦγον δέ τινας
καὶ ἐκ τῶν Κυθήρων ἄνδρας ὀλίγους, οὓς ἐδόκει ἀσφαλείας
ἔνεκα μεταστήσαι. καὶ τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβουλεύ-
σαντο καταθέσθαι ἐς τὰς νήσους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Κυθηρίους
οἰκοῦντας τὴν ἐαυτῶν φόρον τέσσαρα τάλαντα φέρειν, Αἰ- 5
γινήτας δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας ὅσοι ἐάλωσαν διὰ τὴν προτέραν
αἰεὶ ποτε ἔχθραν, Τάνταλον δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ
νήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους καταδῆσαι.

58 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καμαριναῖοις καὶ Γελφοῖς
ἐκεχειρία γίγνεται πρῶτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους· εἴτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 10
Σικελιῶται ξυνελθόντες ἐς Γέλαν, ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων
πρέσβεις, ἐς λόγους κατέστησαν ἀλλήλοις, εἴ πως ξυναλ-
λαγείεν. καὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ γνῶμαι ἐλέγοντο ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα,
διαφερομένων καὶ ἀξιούντων, ὥς ἕκαστοί τι ἐλασσοῦσθαι
ἐνόμιζον, καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ Ἑρμωνος Συρακόσιος, ὅσπερ 15
καὶ ἔπεισε μάλιστα αὐτούς, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τοιούτους δὴ λόγους
εἶπεν.

59 Ὅυτε πόλεως ὦν ἐλαχίστης, ὦ Σικελιῶται, τοὺς λόγους
ποιήσομαι οὔτε πονουμένης μάλιστα τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐς κοινὸν
δὲ τὴν δοκοῦσάν μοι βελτίστην γνώμην εἶναι ἀποφαινώμενος 20
2 τῇ Σικελίᾳ πάσῃ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὥς χαλεπὸν
τί ἂν τις πᾶν τὸ ἐνὸν ἐκλέγων ἐν εἰδόσι μακρηγοροῇ; οὐδεὶς
γὰρ οὔτε ἀμαθία ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὸ δρᾶν, οὔτε φόβῳ, ἣν
οἴηται τι πλεον σχῆσειν, ἀποτρέπεται. ξυμβαίνει δὲ τοῖς
μὲν τὰ κέρδη μείζω φαίνεσθαι τῶν δεινῶν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς 25
κινδύνους ἐθέλουσιν ὑφίστασθαι πρὸ τοῦ αὐτίκα τι ἐλασ-
3 σοῦσθαι· αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ τύχοιεν ἐκάτεροι
πράσσοντες, αἱ παραινήσεις τῶν ξυναλλαγῶν ὠφέλιμοι.
4 ὃ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πειθομένοις πλείστου ἂν ἄξιον
γένοιτο· τὰ γὰρ ἴδια ἕκαστοι εὖ βουλευόμενοι δὴ θέσθαι 30
τό τε πρῶτον ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δι'

1 Πατροκλέους F M : Πατοκλέους vel Παντοκλέους cett.
om. cett. 30 βουλόμενοι recc.

27 ἐν M :

ἀντιλογιῶν πειρώμεθα καταλλαγῆναι καί, ἦν ἄρα μὴ προχωρήσῃ ἴσον ἐκάστω ἔχοντι ἀπελθεῖν, πάλιν πολεμήσομεν.

‘Καίτοι γνῶναι χρὴ ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων μόνον, εἰ 60
σωφρονοῦμεν, ἡ ξύνοδος ἔσται, ἀλλ’ εἰ ἐπιβουλευομένην τὴν
5 πᾶσαν Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων δυνησόμεθα
ἔτι διασῶσαι· καὶ διαλλακτὰς πολὺ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἀναγκαιότερους περὶ τῶνδε Ἀθηναίους νομίσαι, οἳ δύνανται
ἔχοντες μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰς τε ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν
τηροῦσιν ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ παρόντες, καὶ ὀνόματι ἐννόμῳ
10 ξυμμαχίας τὸ φύσει πολέμιον εὐπρεπῶς ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρουν
καθίστανται. πόλεμον γὰρ αἰρομένων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπαγο- 2
μένων αὐτοῦς, ἄνδρας οἳ καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτοὶ
ἐπιστρατεύουσι, κακῶς τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιούντων τέλεσι
τοῖς οἰκείοις, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅμα προκοπόντων ἐκείνοις,
15 εἰκός, ὅταν γνῶσιν ἡμᾶς τετρυχωμένους, καὶ πλεονί ποτε
στολῶ ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς τάδε πάντα πειράσασθαι ὑπὸ σφᾶς
ποιεῖσθαι.

‘Καίτοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, χρὴ τὰ μὴ 61
προσθήκοντα ἐπικτωμένους μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐτοῖμα βλάπτοντας
20 ξυμμάχους τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους προσλαμβάνειν,
νομίσαι τε στάσιν μάλιστα φθείρειν τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν,
ἧς γε οἱ ἔνοικοι ξύμπαντες μὲν ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, κατὰ
πόλεις δὲ διέσταμεν. ἂ χρὴ γνόντας καὶ ἰδιώτην ἰδιώτῃ 2
καταλλαγῆναι καὶ πόλιν πόλει, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κοινῇ σφῆξιν τὴν
25 πᾶσαν Σικελίαν, παρεστάναι δὲ μηδεὶν ὡς οἱ μὲν Δωριῆς
ἡμῶν πολέμιοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δὲ Χαλκιδικὸν τῇ Ἰάδι
ξυγγενείᾳ ἀσφαλές. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὅτι δόξα πέφυκε, 3
τοῦ ἐτέρου ἔχθαι ἐπίασιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἀγαθῶν
ἐφιέμενοι, ἃ κοινῇ κекτήμεθα. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ 4
30 Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους παρακλήσει· τοῖς γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε σφίσι
κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν προσβοηθήσασιν αὐτοὶ τὸ δίκαιον μᾶλλον

9 ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ in quibusdam libris defuisse testatur Schol.
12 τοὺς μὴ ἐπικαλουμένους A B E F M 16 πειράσεσθαι C E G

5 τῆς ξυνθήκης προθύμως παρέσχοιντο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους
ταῦτα πλεονεκτεῖν τε καὶ προνοεῖσθαι πολλὰ ξυγγνώμη, καὶ
οὐ τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις μέμφομαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπακούειν
ἐτοιμοτέροις οὖσιν· πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς
6 ἄρχειν μὲν τοῦ εἰκοντος, φυλάσσεσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιόν. ὅσοι δὲ 5
γινώσκοντες αὐτὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς προσκοποῦμεν, μηδὲ τοῦτό τις
πρεσβύτατον ἥκει κρίνας, τὸ κοινῶς φοβερὸν ἅπαντας εἶ
7 θέσθαι, ἀμαρτάνομεν. τάχιστα δ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγὴ αὐτοῦ γένοιτο,
εἰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ξυμβαῖμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν ὀρμῶνται
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων. καὶ οὕτως οὐ 10
πόλεμος πολέμῳ, εἰρήνῃ δὲ διαφοραὶ ἀπραγμόνως παύονται,
οἳ τ' ἐπὶ κλητοὶ εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι
ἀπίασιν.

62 'Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοσοῦτον ἀγαθὸν εἶ
2 βουλευομένοις εὐρίσκεται· τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογουμένην 15
ἄριστον εἶναι εἰρήνην πῶς οὐ χρὴ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιήσα-
σθαι; ἢ δοκεῖτε, εἴ τῷ τι ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ εἴ τῳ τὰ ἐναντία,
οὐχ ἡσυχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ πόλεμον τὸ μὲν παῦσαι ἂν ἑκατέρῳ,
τὸ δὲ ξυνδιασῶσαι, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ λαμπρότητας ἀκινδυνο-
τέρας ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἄλλα τε ὅσα ἐν μήκει λόγων ἂν τις 20
διέλθοι, ὥσπερ περὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν; ἢ χρὴ σκεψαμένους μὴ
τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ὑπεριδεῖν, τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ τινα σωτηρίαν
3 μᾶλλον ἀπ' αὐτῶν προῖδεῖν. καὶ εἴ τις βεβαίως τι ἢ τῷ
δικαίῳ ἢ βίᾳ πράξειν οἴεται, τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα μὴ χαλεπῶς
σφαλλέσθω, γνούς ὅτι πλείους ἤδη καὶ τιμωρίαις μετιόντες 25
τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἕτεροι δυνάμει τινὶ πλεο-
νεκτησέωσι, οἳ μὲν οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡμύναντο, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐσω-
θησαν, τοὺς δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ πλέον ἔχειν προσκαταλιπεῖν τὰ
4 αὐτῶν ξυνέβη. τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ
ἀδικεῖται· οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὸς βέβαιον, διότι καὶ εὐελπι. τὸ δὲ 30

9 αὐτῶν C: αὐτῶν cett.
Herwerden: ἡσυχία codd.
22 αὐτοῦ BC: αὐτοῦ cett.
αὐτῶν cett.

17 δοκεῖ γε Hude 18 ἡσυχίαν
πόλεμον Herwerden: πόλεμος codd.
28 τοῖς AB EFM 29 αὐτῶν BC:

ἀσπτάθητον τοῦ μέλλοντος ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον κρατεῖ, πάντων
τε σφαλερώτατον ὃν ὅμως καὶ χρησιμώτατον φαίνεται· ἐξ
ἴσου γὰρ δεδιότες προμηθία μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐρχόμεθα.

‘Καὶ νῦν τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε τούτου διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος 63
5 καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη †φοβεροὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους, κατ' ἀμφοτέρα
ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης, ὧν ἕκαστός τι
φύβημεν πράξειν, ταῖς κωλύμασι ταύταις ἱκανῶς ἰομίσαντες
εἰρχθῆναι, τοὺς ἐφεστώτας πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπο-
πέμπωμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐς αἰδίου ξυμβῶμεν, εἰ δὲ
10 μὴ, χρόνον ὥς πλείστον σπεισάμενοι τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς ἐς
αὐθις ἀναβαλώμεθα. τὸ ξύμπαν τε δὴ γινώμεν πειθόμενοι μὲν 2
ἐμοὶ πόλιν ἔξοιτες ἕκαστος ἐλευθέραν, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοκράτορες
ὄντες τὸν εὖ καὶ κακῶς δρῶντα ἐξ ἴσου ἀρετῇ ἀμνυνόμεθα·
ἦν δ' ἀπιστήσαντες ἄλλοις ὑπακούσωμεν, οὐ περὶ τοῦ τιμωρή-
15 σασθαί τινα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν εἰ τύχοιμεν, φίλοι μὲν ἂν τοῖς
ἐχθίστοις, διάφοροι δὲ οἷς οὐ χρὴ κατ' ἀνάγκην γιγνοίμεθα.

‘Καὶ ἐγὼ μείν, ἄπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, πόλιν τε μεγίστην 64
παρεχόμενος καὶ ἐπιὼν τῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμνυνόμενος ἀξιῶ προ-
ιδόμενος αὐτῶν ξυγχωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὕτω κακῶς
20 δρᾶν ὥστε αὐτὸς τὰ πλείω βλάπτεσθαι, μηδὲ μωρὰ φιλονικῶν
ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς τε οἰκείας γνώμης ὁμοίως αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι καὶ
ἧς οὐκ ἄρχω τύχης, ἀλλ' ὅσον εἰκὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι. καὶ τοὺς 2
ἄλλους δικαίῳ ταῦτό μοι ποιῆσαι, ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ
ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο παθεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οἰκείους 3
25 οἰκείων ἡσσᾶσθαι, ἢ Δωριᾷ τινὰ Δωριῶς ἢ Χαλκιδέα τῶν
ξυγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας καὶ ξυνοίκους μιᾶς
χώρας καὶ περιρρύτου καὶ ὄνομα ἐν κεκλημένους Σικελιώτας·
οἱ πολεμήσομέν τε, οἶμαι, ὅταν ξυμβῇ, καὶ ξυγχωρησόμεθά 4
30 δὲ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπελθόντας ἄθροοι αἰεὶ, ἦν σωφρονῶμεν,
ἀμνυνόμεθα, εἴπερ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους βλαπτόμενοι ξύμπαντες

18 προειδόμενος (sic) Reiske : προειδομένους codd.
Reiske : αὐτοὺς codd.

26 τε Classen

20 αὐτὸς

κινδυνεύομεν· ξυμμάχους δὲ οὐδέποτε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπαξόμεθα
 5 οὐδὲ διαλλακτάς. τάδε γὰρ ποιούντες ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι
 δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν οὐ στερήσομεν τὴν Σικελίαν, Ἀθηναίων τε
 ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ οἰκείου πολέμου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα καθ'
 ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέραν νειμούμεθα καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἦσσαν 5
 ἐπιβουλευομένην.'

- 65 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους εἰπόντος πειθόμενοι οἱ Σικε-
 λιῶται αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνηνέχθησαν γνώμῃ
 ὥστε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἔχοντες ἅ ἕκαστοι ἔχουσι,
 τοῖς δὲ Καμαριναίοις Μοργαντίνην εἶναι ἀργύριον τακτὸν 10
 2 τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀποδοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι
 παρακαλέσαντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὄντας εἶπον ὅτι ξυμβή-
 σονται καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἔσονται κακείοις κοιναί. ἐπαινε-
 σάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν
 3 Ἀθηναίων ἀπέπλευσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ Σικελίας. ἐλθόντας 15
 δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν φυγῇ
 ἐξημίωσαν, Πυθόδωρον καὶ Σοφοκλέα, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Εὐρυμέ-
 δοντα χρήματα ἐπράξαντο, ὥς ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ
 4 καταστρέψασθαι δόροις πεισθέντες ἀποχωρήσειαν. οὕτω
 τῇ [τε] παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ χρώμενοι ἠξίουσι σφίσι μηδὲν ἐναν- 20
 τιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ τὰ ἀπορώτερα
 μεγάλη τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐνδεεστέρα παρασκευῇ κατεργάζεσθαι.
 αἰτία δ' ἦν ἡ παρὰ λόγον τῶν πλεόνων εὐπραγία αὐτοῖς
 ὑποτιθεῖσα ἰσχὺν τῆς ἐλπίδος.

- 66 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Μεγαρήs οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πιεζόμενοι 25
 ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων τῷ πολέμῳ, αἰεὶ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δις
 ἐσβαλλόντων πανστρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σφε-
 τέρων φυγάδων τῶν ἐκ Πηγῶν, οἱ στασιασάντων ἐκπεσόντες
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους χαλεποὶ ἦσαν ληστεύοντες, ἐποιοῦντο λόγους
 ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὥς χρὴ δεξαμένους τοὺς φεύγοντας μὴ ἀμφο- 30
 2 τέρωθεν τὴν πόλιν φθείρειν. οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῶν ἔξω τὸν θρόον
 αἰσθόμενοι φανερῶς μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠξίου

τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἔχεσθαι. γνόντες δὲ οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται 3
οὐ δυνατόν τὸν δῆμον ἐσόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν μετὰ σφῶν
καρτερεῖν, ποιοῦνται λόγους δείσαντες πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων στρατηγούς, Ἰπποκράτη τε τὸν Ἀρίφρονος καὶ Δημο-
5 σθένη τὸν Ἀλκισθένους, βουλόμενοι ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ
νομίζοντες ἐλάσσω σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον ἢ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας
ὑπὸ σφῶν κατελθεῖν. ξυνέβησάν τε πρῶτα μὲν τὰ μακρὰ
τείχη ἐλεῖν Ἀθηναίους (ἦν δὲ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτῶ ἀπὸ
τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν Νίσαιαν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν), ὅπως μὴ
10 ἐπιβοηθήσωσιν ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐν ᾗ
αὐτοὶ μόνοι ἐφρούρουν βεβαιότητος ἕνεκα τῶν Μεγάρων,
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν πειρᾶσθαι ἐνδοῦναι ῥᾶον δ'
ἤδη ἔμελλοι προσχωρήσειν τούτου γεγενημένου.

Οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων 67
15 παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις, ὑπὸ νύκτα πλεύσαντες ἐς Μινῶαν
τὴν Μεγαρέων νῆσον ὀπλίταις ἐξακοσίοις, ὧν Ἰπποκράτης
ἦρχεν, ἐν ὀρύγματι ἐκαθέζοντο, ὅθεν ἐπλίνθενον τὰ τεῖχη
καὶ ἀπεῖχεν οὐ πολὺ· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τοῦ ἐτέρου 2
στρατηγοῦ Πλαταιῆς τε ψилоὶ καὶ ἕτεροι περίπολοι ἐνί-
20 ὀρευσαν ἐς τὸ Ἐυνάλιον, ὃ ἐστὶν ἔλασσον ἄπωθεν. καὶ
ἦσθετο οὐδεὶς εἰ μὴ οἱ ἄνδρες οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἦν εἰδέναι τὴν
νύκτα ταύτην. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἕως ἔμελλε γίγνεσθαι, οἱ προ- 3
διδόντες τῶν Μεγαρέων οὗτοι τοιόνδε ἐποίησαν. ἀκάτιον
ἀμφηρικὸν ὡς λησταί, ἐκ πολλοῦ τεθεραπευκότες τὴν ἄνοιξιν
25 τῶν πυλῶν, εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ ἀμάξῃ, πείθοντες τὸν ἄρχοντα, διὰ
τῆς τάφρου κατακομίζειν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ
ἐκπλεῖν· καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν εἶναι πάλιν αὐτὸ τῇ ἀμάξῃ κομί-
σαντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἐσῆγον, ὅπως τοῖς ἐκ
τῆς Μινῶας Ἀθηναίοις ἀφανὴς διή εἴη ἡ φυλακή, μὴ οὗτος
30 ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλοίου φανεροῦ μηδενός. καὶ τότε πρὸς ταῖς 4
πύλαις ἤδη ἦν ἡ ἄμαξα, καὶ ἀνοιχθεῖσῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὡς
τῷ ἀκατίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐγίγνετο γὰρ ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος τὸ

- τοιούτων) ἰδόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας, βουλόμενοι
 φθάσαι πρὶν ξυγκλησθῆναι πάλιν τὰς πύλας καὶ ἕως ἔτι ἡ
 ἄμαξα ἐν αὐταῖς ἦν, κώλυμα οὖσα προσθεῖναι· καὶ αὐτοῖς
 ἅμα καὶ οἱ ξυμπράσσοντες Μεγαρήs τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας
 5 φύλακας κτείνουσιν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη 5
 Πλαταιῆs τε καὶ περίπολοι ἐσέδραμον οὗ νῦν τὸ τροπαῖον
 ἐστί, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν (ῆσθοντο γὰρ οἱ ἐγγύτατα
 Πελοποννήσιοι) μαχόμενοι τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας οἱ Πλα-
 ταιῆs ἐκράτησαν καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίταις ἐπιφερο-
 68 μένοις βεβαίους τὰς πύλας παρέσχον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν 10
 Ἀθηναίων ἦδη ὁ αἰεὶ ἐντὸς γιγνόμενος ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος.
 2 καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φρουροὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντίσχοντες
 ἡμύνοντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ πλείους
 ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν, φοβηθέντες ἐν νυκτί τε πολεμίων
 προσπεπτωκότων καὶ τῶν προδιδόντων Μεγαρέων ἀντιμαχο- 15
 μένων, νομίσαντες τοὺς ἅπαντας σφᾶs Μεγαρέας προδεδω-
 3 κέναι. ξυνέπεσε γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἀφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης κηρύξαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἵεναι Μεγαρέων
 μετὰ Ἀθηναίων θησόμενον τὰ ὄπλα. οἱ δ' ὥs ἤκουσαν,
 οὐκέτι ἀνέμενον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι νομίσαντες κοινῇ πολεμεῖσθαι 20
 4 κατέφυγον ἐς τὴν Νίσαιαν. ἅμα δὲ ἕφ' ἐαλωκότων ἦδη τῶν
 τειχῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεγαρέων θορυβουμένων οἱ
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πράξαντες καὶ ἄλλο μετ' αὐτῶν πλῆθος,
 ὃ ξυνῆδαι, ἔφασαν χρῆναι ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας καὶ ἐπεξιέναι
 5 ἐς μάχην. ξυνέκειτο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν 25
 ἐσπίπτειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαδόηλοι ἔμελλον
 ἔσεσθαι (λίπα γὰρ ἀλείψεσθαι), ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶνται. ἀσφά-
 λεια δὲ αὐτοῖς μάλλον ἐγίγνωτο τῆς ἀνοιξέως· καὶ γὰρ
 οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλευσίως κατὰ τὸ ξυγκείμενον τετρακισχίλιοι
 ὀπλίται τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἱππῆs ἐξακόσιοι [οἱ] τὴν νύκτα 30
 6 πορευόμενοι παρήσαν. ἀληλιμμένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οὔτων

4 τὰς F' G M¹: om. cett.

11 ἐχώρει G M: χωρεῖ cett.

12 ἀντίσχοντες Naber: ἀντισχόντες codd.

13 ἡμύναντο A B E F M

23 ἄλλο Abresch: ἄλλοι codd.

30 οἱ om. recce.

ἤδη περὶ τὰς πύλας καταγορεύει τις ξυνειδὼς τοῖς ἐτέροις
 τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα. καὶ οἱ ξυστραφέντες ἄθροοι ἦλθον καὶ οὐκ
 ἔφασαν χρῆναι οὔτε ἐπεξιέναι (οὐδὲ γὰρ πρότερόν πω τοῦτο
 ἰσχύοντες μᾶλλον τολμῆσαι) οὔτε ἐς κίνδυνον φανερόν τὴν
 5 πόλιν καταγαγεῖν· εἴ τε μὴ πείσεται τις, αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην
 ἔσεσθαι. ἐδήλουν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅτι ἴσασι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ
 ὥς τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευόντες ἰσχυρίζοντο, καὶ ἅμα περὶ τὰς
 πύλας παρέμενον φυλάσσοντες, ὥστε οὐκ ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐπι-
 βουλευούσι πρᾶξι ὃ ἔμελλον. γνόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 69
 10 στρατηγοὶ ὅτι ἐναντίωμά τι ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν βία οὐχ
 οἰοί τε ἔσονται λαβεῖν, τὴν Νίσαιαν εὐθὺς περιετείχιζον,
 νομίζοντες, εἰ πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαί τινας ἐξέλκοιεν, θάσσον ἂν καὶ
 τὰ Μέγαρα προσχωρήσαι (παρεγένετο δὲ σίδηρός τε ἐκ τῶν 2
 Ἀθηνῶν ταχὺ καὶ λιθουργοὶ καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιτήδεια)· ἀρξά-
 15 μνοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὃ εἶχον καὶ διοικοδομήσαντες τὸ
 πρὸς Μεγαρέας, ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐκατέρωθεν ἐς θάλασσαν τῆς
 Νισαίας τάφρον τε καὶ τεῖχῃ διελομένη ἢ στρατιά, ἐκ τε τοῦ
 προαστείου λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις χρώμενοι, καὶ κόπτοντες τὰ
 δένδρα καὶ ὕλην ἀπεσταύρουν εἴ πῃ δέοιτό τι· καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι
 20 τοῦ προαστείου ἐπάλξεις λαμβάνουσαι αὐτὰ ὑπῆρχον ἔρυμα.
 καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην εἰργάζοντο· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία 3
 περὶ δεῖλιν τὸ τεῖχος ὅσον οὐκ ἀπετετέλεστο, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ
 Νισαίᾳ δείσαντες, σίτου τε ἀπορία (ἐφ' ἡμέραν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἄνω
 πόλεως ἐχρῶντο) καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους οὐ νομίζοντες ταχὺ
 25 ἐπιβοηθήσειν, τοὺς τε Μεγαρέας πολεμίους ἡγούμενοι, ξυνέ-
 βησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ῥητοῦ μὲν ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου ἀπολυθῆναι
 ὅπλα παραδόντας, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, τῷ τε ἄρχοντι καὶ
 εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐνὴν, χρῆσθαι Ἀθηναίους ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται.
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμολογήσαντες ἐξῆλθον, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ 4
 30 μακρὰ τεῖχῃ ἀπορρήξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλεως
 καὶ τὴν Νίσαιαν παραλαβόντες τᾶλλα παρεσκευάζοντο.

1 ἑταίροις AB EF (corr. F¹)
 Madvig 27 δὲ Dobree : τε codd.

17 post διελομένη add. ἦγεν

- 70 Βρασιῖδας δὲ ὁ Τέλλιδος Λακεδαιμόνιος κατὰ τοῦτοι τὸν
 χρόνον ἐτύγχανε περὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ὦν, ἐπὶ Θράκης
 στρατείαν παρασκευαζόμενος. καὶ ὡς ἦσθετο τῶν τειχῶν
 τὴν ἄλωσιν, δείσας περὶ τε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νισαίᾳ Πελοποννη-
 σίοις καὶ μὴ τὰ Μέγαρα ληφθῆναι, πέμπει ἔς τε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς 5
 κελεύων κατὰ τάχος στρατιᾷ ἀπαντῆσαι ἐπὶ Τριποδίσκον
 (ἔστι δὲ κώμη τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔχουσα ὑπὸ τῷ
 ὄρει τῇ Γερανείᾳ), καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἡλθεν ἐπτακοσίους μὲν
 καὶ δισχιλίους Κορινθίων ὀπλίτας, Φλειασίων δὲ τετρα-
 κοσίους, Σικωνίων δὲ ἑξακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ὅσοι 10
 ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν, οἰόμενος τὴν Νίσαιαν ἔτι καταλή-
 2 ψεσθαι ἀνάλωτον. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθετο (ἔτυχε γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ
 τοῖν Τριποδίσκον ἐξελθών), ἀπολέξας τριακοσίους τοῦ στρατοῦ,
 πρὶν ἔκπυστος γενέσθαι, προσῆλθε τῇ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλει
 λαθὼν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἷτας περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, βουλό- 15
 μενος μὲν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἅμα, εἰ δύναιτο, ἔργῳ τῆς Νισαίας
 πειρᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν ἐσελθὼν
 βεβαιώσασθαι. καὶ ἡξίου δέξασθαι σφᾶς, λέγων ἐν ἐλπίδι
 71 εἶναι ἀναλαβεῖν Νίσαιαν. αἱ δὲ τῶν Μεγαρέων στάσεις
 φοβούμεναι, οἳ μὲν μὴ τοὺς φεύγοντας σφίσιν ἐσαγαγῶν 20
 αὐτοὺς ἐκβάλλει, οἳ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁ δῆμος δείσας ἐπίθηται
 σφίσι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν μάχῃ καθ' αὐτὴν οὖσα ἐγγὺς ἐφε-
 δρευόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀπόληται, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀμφο-
 2 τέροις ἐδόκει ἡσυχάσασιν τὸ μέλλον περιδεῖν. ἡλπιζοι γὰρ
 καὶ μάχην ἑκάτεροι ἔσεσθαι τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν 25
 προσβοηθησάντων, καὶ οὕτω σφίσιν ἀσφαλεστέρως ἔχειν,
 οἷς τις εἴη εὖνους, κρατήσασιν προσχωρήσαι. ὁ δὲ Βρασιῖδας
 ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθει, ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἔς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα.
- 72 Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἑφ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ παρήσαν, διανενημένοι μὲν
 καὶ πρὶν Βρασιῖδαν πέμψαι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα, ὡς οὐκ 30
 ἄλλοτρίον οἷτος τοῦ κινδύνου, καὶ ἡδὴ οἷτες παυστρατιᾷ

Πλαταιῶσιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἦλθει ὁ ἄγγελος, πολλῶ μᾶλλον
 ἐρρώσθησαν, καὶ ἀποστείλαιτες διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους
 ὀπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀπῆλθον· πάλιν.
 παρόντος δὲ ἡδὴ ξύμπαντος τοῦ στρατεύματος, ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ 2
 5 ἔλασσοι· ἑξακισχιλίων, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν
 περὶ τε τὴν Νίσαιαν ὄντων καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν τάξει, τῶν
 δὲ ψιλῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσκεδασμένων, οἱ ἱππῆς οἱ τῶν
 Βοιωτῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτοις ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς ψιλοῖς ἔτρεψαν
 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν (ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ οὐδεμῖα βοήθειά πω
 10 τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν οὐδαμῶθεν ἐπῆλθει)· ἀντεπεξέλασαντες δὲ 3
 καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἱππο-
 μαχία ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἐν ᾗ ἀξιούσιν ἐκάτεροι οὐχ ἥσσους
 γεινέσθαι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἵππαρχον τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ ἄλλους 4
 τινὰς οὐ πολλοὺς πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Νίσαιαν προσελάσαντας
 15 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι [καὶ] ἀποκτείναντες ἐσκύλευσαν, καὶ τῶν τε
 νεκρῶν τούτων κρατήσαντες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαι καὶ
 τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οὐ μέντοι ἔν γε τῷ παντὶ ἔργῳ βεβαίως
 οὐδέτεροι τελευτήσαντες ἀπεκρίθησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Νίσαιαν.
 20 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Βρασιδᾶς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐχώρουν 73
 ἐγγυτέρω τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλεως,
 καὶ καταλαβόντες χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον παραταξάμενοι ἡσύ-
 χαζοι, οἴομενοι σφίσιν ἐπιέναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς
 Μεγαρέας ἐπιστάμενοι περιορωμένους ὑποτέρων ἢ νίκη
 25 ἔσται. καλῶς δὲ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρα ἔχειν, ἅμα μὲν 2
 τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν προτέρους μηδὲ μάχης καὶ κινδύνου ἐκόντας
 ἄρξαι, ἐπειδὴ γε ἐν φανερῷ ἔδειξαν ἐτοῖμοι οἶντες ἀμύνεσθαι,
 καὶ αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀκονιτὲ τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἂν τίθεσθαι, ἐν
 τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρέας ὀρθῶς ξυμβαίνειν·
 30 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ὥφθησαν ἐλθόντες, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τύχῃ γίγνεσθαι 3
 σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἂν ὥσπερ ἡσσηθέντων στερηθῆναι

6 τε om. AB
 6 τε om. AB
 6 τε om. AB

14 προσελάσαντας] *proiectos* Valla : προσελά-
 σαντες codd. 15 καὶ secl. Schütz 28 ἂν τίθεσθαι F¹g M :

ἀντιθέσθαι cett. : ἀνατίθεσθαι Krüger

εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως· νῦν δὲ κὰν τυχεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ
 βουληθέντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὥστε ἀμαχητὶ ἂν περιγενέσθαι
 4 αὐτοῖς ὦν ἕνεκα ἦλθον. ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Μεγαρήs,
 ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάξαντο μὲν παρὰ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐξελ-
 θόντες, ἡσύχαζον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἐπιόντων, λογιζόμενοι 5
 καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων στρατηγοὶ μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι σφίσι τὸν
 κίνδυνον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῖς προυκεχωρήκει, ἄρξασι
 μάχης πρὸς πλέονας αὐτῶν ἢ λαβεῖν νικήσαντας Μέγα-
 ρα ἢ σφαλέντας τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ βλαφθῆναι, τοῖς
 δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον 10
 κινδυνεύειν εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν, χρόνον δὲ ἐπισχόντες
 καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ἀπῆλθον πρότερον
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Νίσαιαν καὶ αὖθις οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι
 ὄθεν περ ὥρμήθησαν. οὕτω δὲ τῷ μὲν Βρασίδῃ αὐτῷ καὶ
 τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχουσιν οἱ τῶν φευγόντων φίλοι 15
 Μεγαρήs, ὡς ἐπικρατήσαντι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι
 ἐθελήσαντων μάχεσθαι, θαρσοῦντες μᾶλλον ἀνοίγουσί τε
 τὰς πύλας καὶ δεξάμενοι καταπεπληγμένων ἤδη τῶν πρὸς τοὺς
 74 Ἀθηναίους πραξάντων ἐς λόγους ἔρχονται. καὶ ὕστερον ὁ
 μὲν διαλυθέντων τῶν ξυμμάχων κατὰ πόλεις ἐπανελθὼν καὶ 20
 αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκης στρατείαν παρε-
 2 σκεύαζει, ἵνα περ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὥρμητο· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 Μεγαρήs, ἀποχωρησάντων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' οἴκου,
 ὅσοι μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μάλιστα
 μετέσχον, εἰδότες ὅτι ὥφθησαν εὐθὺς ὑπεξῆλθον, οἱ δὲ 25
 ἄλλοι κοινολογησάμενοι τοῖς τῶν φευγόντων φίλοις κατά-
 γουσι τοὺς ἐκ Πηγῶν, ὀρκώσαντες πίστεσι μεγάλας μηδὲν
 3 μνησικακήσειν, βουλευσείν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὰ ἄριστα. οἱ δὲ
 ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐξέτασιν ὅπλων ἐποιή-
 σαντο, διαστήσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἐξελέξαντο τῶν τε ἐχθρῶν 30
 καὶ οἱ ἐδόκουν μάλιστα ξυμπρᾶξαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 ἡνδρας ὡς ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων πέρι ἀναγκάσαντες τὸν δῆμον

ψηφον φανερὰν διενεγκέιν, ὥς κατεγνώσθησαν, ἔκτειναν, καὶ ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν τὰ μάλιστα κατέστησαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ 4 πλείστον δὴ χρόνον αὕτη ὑπ' ἐλαχίστων γενομένη ἐκ στάσεως μετὰστασις ζυνέμεινεν.

5 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους τῆς Ἀντάνδρου ὑπὸ τῶν Μυτιλη- 75
ραίων, ὥσπερ διενουῦντο, μελλούσης κατασκευάζεσθαι, οἱ
τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ Δημόδοκος
καὶ Ἀριστείδης, οἶτες περὶ Ἑλλησποντον (ὃ γὰρ τρίτος
αὐτῶν Λάμαχος δέκα ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσεπεπλεύκει)
10 ὥς ἦσθάνοντο τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ χωρίου καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς
δεῖν ὄν εἶναι μὴ ὥσπερ τὰ Ἄναϊα ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ γένηται,
ἐνθα οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Σαμίων καταστάντες τοὺς τε Πελο-
ποννησίους ὠφέλουν ἐς τὰ ναυτικὰ κυβερνήτας πέμποντες
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαμίους ἐς ταραχὴν καθίστασαν καὶ
15 τοὺς ἐξιόντας ἐδέχοντο· οὕτω δὲ ξυναγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν
ξυμμάχων στρατιὰν καὶ πλεύσαντες, μάχῃ τε νικήσαντες
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντάνδρου ἐπεξελθόντας, ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸ
χωρίον πάλιν. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπλεύ- 2
σας Λάμαχος, ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλεώτιδι ὁρμίσας· ἐς τὸν Κάλητα
20 ποταμὸν ἀπόλλυσι τὰς ναὺς ὕδατος ἄνωθεν γενομένου καὶ
κατελθόντος αἰφνιδίου τοῦ ρεύματος· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ
πεξῆ διὰ Βιθυνῶν Θρακῶν, οἳ εἰσι πέραν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ,
ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Καλχηδόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου
Μεγαρέων ἀποικίαν.

25 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει καὶ Δημοσθένης Ἀθηναίων στρα- 76
τηγὸς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ναύπακτον, εὐθὺς
μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ἀναχώρησιν. τῷ γὰρ Ἴππο- 2
κράτει καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ Βοιώτια πράγματα ἀπὸ τινων ἀνδρῶν
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπράσσετο, βουλομένων μεταστῆσαι τὸν
30 κόσμον καὶ ἐς δημοκρατίαν ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρέψαι·
καὶ Πτοιοδώρου μάλιστ' ἀνδρὸς φυγάδος ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐσηγου-

3 γενομένη] νεομένη C G γρ. M 7 νεῶν Ἀθηναίων scripsi :
Ἀθηναῖοι νεῶν E : Ἀθηναίων cett. 19 ὁρμήσας A B E F M Κάλητα
Palmerius : Κάληκα codd. 21 δὲ Classen : τε codd.

- 3 μένου τάδε αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάσθη. Σίφας μὲν ἔμελλόν τινας
 προδώσειν (αἱ δὲ Σίφαί εἰσι τῆς Θεσπικῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ
 Κρισαίῳ κόλῳ ἐπιθαλασσίδιοι). Χαιρώνειαν δέ, ἣ ἐς
 Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Μινύειον πρότερον καλούμενον, νῦν δὲ
 Βοιωτίαν, ξυντελεῖ, ἄλλοι ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ἐνεδίδουσιν, καὶ οἱ 5
 Ὀρχομενίων φυγάδες ξυνέπρασσον τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἄνδρας
 ἔμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου (ἔστι δὲ ἡ Χαιρώνεια ἔσχατον
 τῆς Βοιωτίας πρὸς τῇ Φανοτίδι τῆς Φωκίδος), καὶ Φωκέων
 4 μετεῖχόν τινας. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔδει Δήλιον καταλαβεῖν
 τὸ ἐν τῇ Ταναγραίᾳ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν τετραμμένον Ἀπόλλωνος 10
 ἱερόν, ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥήτῃ γίνεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ
 ξυμβοηθήσωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ Δήλιον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἄθροοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 5 τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι κινούμενα. καὶ εἰ κατορθοῖτο ἡ
 πείρα καὶ τὸ Δήλιον τειχισθεῖν, ῥαδίως ἡλπιζον, εἰ καὶ μὴ
 παραντίκα νεωτερίζοιτό τι τῶν κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας τοῖς 15
 Βοιωτοῖς, ἐχομένων τούτων τῶν χωρίων καὶ ληστευομένης
 τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐσης ἐκάστοις διὰ βραχείας ἀποστροφῆς, οὐ
 μενεῖν κατὰ χώραν τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 μὲν προσιόντων τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι, τοῖς δὲ οὐκ οὐσης ἀθροάς
 τῆς δυνάμεως, καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδειον. 20
- 77 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιβουλὴ τοιαύτη παρεσκευάζετο, ὃ δὲ Ἰπ-
 ποκράτης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν ἔχων, ὅποτε
 καιρὸς εἴη, ἔμελλε στρατεύειν ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτούς, τὸν δὲ
 Δημοσθένη προαπέστειλε ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν
 Ναύπακτον, ὅπως ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν χωρίων στρατὸν ξυλλέξας 25
 Ἀκαρνάνων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλέοι ἐπὶ τὰς
 Σίφας ὡς προδοθησομένας· ἡμέρα δ' αὐτοῖς εἶρητο ἥ ἔδει
 2 ἅμα ταῦτα πράσσειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης ἀφικόμενος,
 Οἰνιάδας δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀκαρνάνων πάντων κατηγαγκασμένους
 καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναστή- 30
 σας τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν τὸ ἐκείνῃ πᾶν, ἐπὶ Σαλύνθιον καὶ

2 παραδώσειν C G
 F: νεωτερίζοι cett.

13 κινούμενοι C E G M
 18 μενεῖν G: μένειν cett.

15 νεωτερίζοιτο

Ἀγραίους στρατεύσας πρώτοι καὶ προσποιησάμενος τὰλλα ἡτοιμάζετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς Σίφας, ὅταν δέη, ἀπαιτησόμενος.

Βρασίδης δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους πορευό- 78
μενος ἑπτακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης
5 ἔπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ ἐν Τραχύνι καί, προπέμ-
ψαντος αὐτοῦ ἄγγελον ἐς Φάρσαλον παρὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδέους,
ἀξιούντος διάγειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν στρατίαν, ἦλθον ἐς
Μελίτειαν τῆς Ἀχαΐας Πάναιρός τε καὶ Δῶρος καὶ Ἴπ-
πολοχίδας καὶ Τορύλαος καὶ Στρόφακος πρόξενος ὦν Χαλ-
10 κιδέων, τότε δὴ ἐπορεύετο. ἦγον δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Θεσσαλῶν 2
αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ Λαρίσης Νικονίδας Περδίκκα ἐπιτήδειος ὦν.
τὴν γὰρ Θεσσαλίαν ἄλλως τε οὐκ εὖποροι ἦν διένειναι ἄνευ
ἀγωγοῦ καὶ μετὰ ὅπλων γε δῆ, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσί γε ὁμοίως
Ἕλλησιν ὑποπτοὶ καθειστήκει τὴν τῶν πέλας μὴ πείσαιτας
15 διένειναι τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αἰεὶ ποτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Θεσ-
σαλῶν εὖνουν ὑπῆρχει. ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστεία μᾶλλον ἢ 3
ἰσονομία ἐχρῶντο τὸ ἐγχώριον οἱ Θεσσαλοί, οὐκ ἂν ποτε
προῆλθεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε πορευομένῳ αὐτῷ ἀπαιτήσαντες
ἄλλοι τῶν ταναϊτία τούτοις βουλομένων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐριπεῖ
20 ποταμῷ ἐκώλυνον καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἔφασαν ἄνευ τοῦ πάντων
κοινοῦ πορευόμενοι. οἱ δὲ ἄγοιτες οὔτε ἀκόντων ἔφασαν 4
διάξειν, αἰφνιδιὸν τε παραγενόμενοι ξένοι ὄντες κομίζειν.
ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Βρασίδης τῇ Θεσσαλῶν γῇ καὶ
αὐτοῖς φίλος ὦν ἵεναι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολεμίοις οὔσι καὶ
25 οὐκ ἐκείνοις ὄπλα ἐπιφέρειν, Θεσσαλοῖς τε οὐκ εἰδέναι καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχθραν οὔσαν ὥστε τῇ ἀλλήλων γῇ μὴ
χρῆσθαι, νῦν τε ἀκόντων ἐκείνων οὐκ ἂν προελθεῖν (οὐδὲ
γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι), οὐ μέντοι ἀξιούν γε εἶργεσθαι. καὶ οἱ 5
μὲν ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀπῆλθον, ὁ δὲ κελευσίτων τῶν
30 ἀγωγῶν, πρὶν τι πλεόν ξυστῆναι τὸ κωλύσειν, ἐχώρει οὐδὲν
ἐπισχὼν δρόμῳ. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἐκ τῆς

1 τὰλλα] πολλὰ ABF

ζ CM in marg.

ἐπιχωρίῳ Dion. Hal.

2 post c. 77 τῶν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ 5 ἀρχὴ τοῦ

11 Νικωνίδας Krüger

27 τε] δὲ B

17 τὸ ἐγχώριον] τῷ

30 πρὶν f M: πλὴν cett.

- Μελιτείας ἀφώρμησεν, ἐς Φάρσαλόν τε ἐτέλεσε καὶ ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύσατο ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀπιδανῷ ποταμῷ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐς Φάκιον,
6 καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐς Περραιβίαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ἤδη οἱ μὲν
τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἀγωγοὶ πάλιν ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Περραιβοὶ
αὐτόν, ὑπήκοοι ὄντες Θεσσαλῶν, κατέστησαν ἐς Δίον τῆς 5
Περδίκκου ἀρχῆς, ὃ ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ Μακεδονίας πρὸς
79 Θεσσαλοὺς πόλισμα κεῖται. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ Βρασιῖδας
Θεσσαλίαν φθάσας διέδραμε πρὶν τινα κωλύειν παρασκευά-
σασθαι, καὶ ἀφίκετο ὡς Περδίκκαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαλκιδικήν.
2 ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡς τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ηὔτυχαι, 10
δείσαντες οἳ τε ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀφεστῶτες Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περ-
δίκκας ἐξήγαγον τὸν στρατόν, οἱ μὲν Χαλκιδῆς νομίζοντες
ἐπὶ σφᾶς πρῶτον ὀρμήσειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (καὶ ἅμα αἱ
πλησιόχωροι πόλεις αὐτῶν αἱ οὐκ ἀφεστηκυῖαι ξυνεπῆγον
κρύφα), Περδίκκας δὲ πολέμιος μὲν οὐκ ὦν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, 15
φοβούμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ παλαιὰ διάφορα τῶν Ἀθηναίων
καὶ μάλιστα βουλόμενος Ἀρραβαῖον τὸν Λυγκηστῶν βασιλέα
παραστήσασθαι.
- 3 Ξυνέβη δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ῥᾶον ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρα-
τὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν, ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακο- 20
80 πράγῃ. τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἐγκειμένων τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ
καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ ἐκείνων γῇ ἡλπίζον ἀποτρέψειν αὐτοὺς
μάλιστα, εἰ ἀντιπαραλυποῖεν πέμψαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
αὐτῶν στρατιάν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων τρέφειν τε καὶ
2 ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει σφᾶς ἐπικαλουμένων. καὶ ἅμα τῶν Εἰλώτων 25
βουλομένοις ἦν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψαι, μή τι πρὸς τὰ
3 παρόντα τῆς Πύλου ἐχομένης νεωτερίσωσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε
ἔπραξαν φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν σκαιότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
(αἰεὶ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Εἰλωτας τῆς
φυλακῆς πέρι μάλιστα καθειστήκει)· προεῖπον αὐτῶν ὅσοι 30
ἀξιούσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γεγενῆσθαι σφίσιν ἄριστοι,

22 ἀποτρέψειν G : ἀποτρέψαι C G¹ M : ἀποστρέψαι cett.
τήτα B suprascr. A : νεότητα cett. (post rasuram F) [G]
μοις scripsi : πολεμίμοις codd.

28 σκαιό-
31 πολέ-

κρίνεσθαι, ὥς ἐλευθερώσοντας, πείραν ποιούμενοι καὶ ἡγούμενοι τούτους σφίσιν ὑπὸ φρονήματος, ὥπερ καὶ ἡξίωσαι πρῶτος ἕκαστος ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, μάλιστα ἂν καὶ ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ προκρίναντες ἐς δισχιλίους, οἱ μὲν ἐστεφανώσαντό τε 4
5 καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιήλθον ὥς ἡλευθερωμένοι, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἡφάνισάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦσθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη. καὶ τότε προθύμως τῷ Βρασίδῃ αὐτῶν 5
ξυνέπεμψαν ἐπτακοσίους ὀπλίτας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου μισθῷ πείσας ἐξήγαγεν. αὐτόν τε Βρασίδαν 81
10 βουλόμενον μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπέστειλαν (προϋθυμήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς), ἄνδρα ἔν τε τῇ Σπάρτῃ δοκοῦντα δραστήριον εἶναι ἐς τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθε πλείστου ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενον. τό τε γὰρ παραντίκα ἑαυτὸν 2
παρασχὼν δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπέστησε τὰ
15 πολλά, τὰ δὲ προδοσίᾳ εἴλε τῶν χωρίων, ὥστε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις γίγνεσθαι ξυμβαίνειν τε βουλομένοις, ὅπερ ἐποίησαν, ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ ἀποδοχὴν χωρίων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λώφησιν· ἐς τε τὸν χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ
ἐκ Σικελίας πόλεμον ἢ τότε Βρασίδου ἀρετὴ καὶ ξύνεσις, τῶν
20 μὲν πείρᾳ αἰσθομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀκοῇ νομισάντων, μάλιστα ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνεποιεῖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχοις ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. πρῶτος γὰρ ἐξελθὼν καὶ δόξας εἶναι κατὰ πάντα 3
ἀγαθὸς ἐλπίδα ἐγκατέλιπε βέβαιον ὥς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν.
25 Τότε δ' οὖν ἀφικομένου αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης οἱ 82
Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι τὸν τε Περδίκκαν πολέμιον ποιοῦνται, νομίσαντες αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς παρόδου, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ξυμμάχων φυλακὴν πλέονα κατεστήσαντο. Περδίκκας δὲ Βρασίδαν καὶ 83
τὴν στρατιὰν εὐθὺς λαβὼν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως στρα-
30 τεύει ἐπὶ Ἀρραβαῖον τὸν Βρομεροῦ Λυγκηστῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ὁμορον ὄντα, διαφορᾶς τε αὐτῷ οὔσης καὶ βουλό-
μενος καταστρέφασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ στρατῷ μετὰ 2

- τοῦ Βρασίδου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ τῆς Λύγκου, Βρασίδας λόγοις
 ἔφη βούλεσθαι πρῶτον ἐλθὼν πρὸ πολέμου Ἀρραβαῖον ξύμ-
 3 μαχόν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἣν δύνηται, ποιῆσαι. καὶ γάρ τι
 καὶ Ἀρραβαῖος ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, ἐτοιμός ὢν Βρασίδα μέσῳ
 δικαστῇ ἐπιτρέπειν· καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδέων πρέσβεις ζυμπαρόντες 5
 ἐδίδασκον αὐτὸν μὴ ὑπεξελεῖν τῷ Περδίκκῃ τὰ δεινὰ, ἵνα
 4 προθυμοτέρῳ ἔχοιεν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν χρῆσθαι. ἅμα δέ τι
 καὶ εἰρήκεσαν τοιοῦτον οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Περδίκκου ἐν τῇ Λακε-
 δαίμονι, ὥς πολλὰ αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν χωρίων ξύμμαχα
 ποιήσοι, ὥστε ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου κουῇ μᾶλλον ὁ Βρασίδας 10
 5 τὰ τοῦ Ἀρραβαίου ἡξίου πράσσειν. Περδίκκας δὲ οὔτε
 δικαστὴν ἔφη Βρασίδαν τῶν σφετέρων διαφορῶν ἀγαγεῖν,
 μᾶλλον δὲ καθαιρέτην ὢν ἂν αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνη πολεμίων,
 ἀδικήσειν τε εἰ αὐτοῦ τρέφοντος τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατοῦ
 6 ξυνέσται Ἀρραβαίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἄκοντος καὶ ἐκ διαφορᾶς ξυγ- 15
 γίνεται, καὶ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν
 πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν. Περδίκκας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο
 τρίτον μέρος ἀνθ' ἡμίσεος τῆς τροφῆς ἐδίδου, νομίζων ἀδι-
 κεῖσθαι.
- 84 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει εὐθὺς ὁ Βρασίδας ἔχων καὶ Χαλκι- 20
 δέας ἐπὶ Ἀκανθοὺ τὴν Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίαν ὀλίγον πρὸ τρυγίτου
 2 ἐστράτευσεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ δέχεσθαι αὐτὸν κατ' ἀλλήλους
 ἐστασίαζον, οἳ τε μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ξυνεπάγοντες καὶ ὁ
 δῆμος. ὅμως δὲ διὰ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ θέος ἔτι ἔξω ὄντος
 πεισθὲν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρασίδου δέξασθαι τε αὐτὸν 25
 μόνον καὶ ἀκούσαντας βουλεύσασθαι, δέχεται· καὶ καταστὰς
 ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος (ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιος,
 εἰπεῖν) ἔλεγε τοιάδε.
- 85 Ἡ μὲν ἔκπεμψίς μου καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
 μονίων, ὧ Ἀκάνθιοι, γεγένηται τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπαληθεύουσα ἥν 30
 ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου προείπομεν, Ἀθηναίοις ἐλευθεροῦντες
 2 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολεμήσειν· εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐπῆλθομεν, σφαλείτες

τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πολέμου δόξης, ἥ διὰ τάχους αὐτοὶ ἄνεν
 τοῦ ὑμετέρου κινδύνου ἡλπίσαμεν Ἀθηναίους καθαιρήσειν,
 μηδεὶς μεμφθῆ· νῦν γάρ, ὅτε παρέσχει, ἀφιγμένοι καὶ μετὰ
 ὑμῶν πειρασόμεθα κατεργάζεσθαι αὐτούς. θαυμάζω δὲ τῇ 3
 5 τε ἀποκλήσει μου τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀσμένους ὑμῖν
 ἀφίγμαι. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἰόμενοί τε παρὰ 4
 ξυμμάχους, καὶ πρὶν ἔργῳ ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ γοῦν γνώμῃ ἤξειν
 καὶ βουλομένοις ἔσεσθαι, κίνδυνόν [τε] τοσόνδε ἀνερρίψαμεν
 διὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἰόντες καὶ πᾶν τὸ
 10 πρόθυμον παρεχόμενοι· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν νῶ ἔχετε ἢ 5
 εἰ ἐναντίωσθε τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δευνὸν ἂν εἴη. καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ὅτι 6
 αὐτοὶ ἀνθίστασθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπίω, ἡσσόν τις ἐμοὶ
 πρόσσεισι, δυσχερὲς ποιούμενοι εἰ ἐπὶ οὖς πρῶτον ἦλθον
 15 ὑμᾶς, καὶ πόλιν ἀξιόχρεων παρεχομένους καὶ ξύνεσιν δοκοῦν-
 τας ἔχειν, μὴ ἐδέξασθε· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ἔξω πιστὴν
 ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄδικον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἢ
 ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἀδύνατος τιμωρῆσαι τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἣν
 ἐπίωσιν, ἀφίχθαι. καίτοι στρατιᾷ γε τῇδ' ἣν νῦν [ἐγὼ] ἔχω 7
 20 ἐπὶ Νίσαιαν ἐμοῦ βοηθήσαντος οὐκ ἠθέλησαν Ἀθηναῖοι
 πλέονες ὄντες προσμεῖξαι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς νηίτη γε αὐτοὺς
 τῷ ἐν Νισαίᾳ στρατῷ ἴσον πλῆθος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀποστεῖλαι.
 αὐτός τε οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 86
 παρελήλυθα, ὅρκους τε Λακεδαιμονίων καταλαβὼν τὰ τέλη
 25 τοῖς μεγίστοις ἢ μὴν οὖς ἂν ἔγωγε προσαγάγωμαι ξυμμάχους
 ἔσεσθαι αὐτονόμους, καὶ ἅμα οὐχ ἵνα ξυμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἔχωμεν
 ἢ βία ἢ ἀπάτῃ προσλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ὑμῖν δεδου-
 λωμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχήσουντες. οὐκ οὐν ἀξιώ οὐτ' 2
 αὐτὸς ὑποπτεῦσθαι, πίστει γε διδούς τὰς μεγίστας, οὐδὲ
 30 τιμωρὸς ἀδύνατος νομισθῆναι, προσχωρεῖν τε ὑμᾶς θαρσύν-
 σαντας. καὶ εἴ τις ἰδίᾳ τινὰ δεδιὼς ἄρα, μὴ ἐγὼ τισι 3

8 τε secl. Poppo
 post ἔχω habet M
 codd. οὐδὲ Stahl: οὐτε codd.

12 οὐ μόνον] οὐχ Stahl
 22 ἐν Νισαίᾳ] ἐκεῖ E

19 ἐγὼ om. C G,
 29 γε Reiske: τε

προσθῶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀπρόθυμός ἐστι, πάντων μάλιστα πιστευ-
 4 σάτω. οὐ γὰρ ξυστασιάσων ἦκω, οὐδὲ ἂν σαφῇ τὴν ἑλευ-
 θερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν, εἰ τὸ πάτριον παρὲς τὸ πλεόν τοῖς
 5 ὀλίγοις ἢ τὸ ἔλασσον τοῖς πᾶσι δουλώσαιμι. χαλεπωτέρα
 γὰρ ἂν τῆς ἀλλοφύλου ἀρχῆς εἴη, καὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς Λακεδαι- 5
 μονίοις οὐκ ἂν ἀντὶ πόνων χάρις καθίστατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς
 καὶ δόξης αἰτία μᾶλλον· οἷς τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήμασι
 καταπολεμοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ ἂν φαινοίμεθα ἐχθίονα ἢ ὁ μὴ ὑπο-
 6 δείξας ἀρετὴν κατακτώμενοι. ἀπάτη γὰρ εὐπρεπεῖ αἵσχιον
 τοῖς γε ἐν ἀξιώματι πλεονεκτῆσαι ἢ βία ἐμφανεῖ· τὸ μὲν 10
 γὰρ ἰσχύος δικαιοῦσι, ἣν ἡ τύχη ἔδωκεν, ἐπέρχεται, τὸ δὲ
 87 γνώμης ἀδίκου ἐπιβουλή. οὕτω πολλὴν περιωπὴν τῶν ἡμῶν
 ἐς τὰ μέγιστα διαφόρων ποιοῦμεθα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν μείζω πρὸς
 τοῖς ὅρκοις βεβαίωσιν λάβοιτε ἢ οἷς τὰ ἔργα ἐκ τῶν λόγων
 ἀναθρούμενα δόκησιν ἀναγκαίαν παρέχεται ὥς καὶ ξυμφέρι 15
 ὁμοίως ὥς εἶπον.

2 'Εἰ δ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα προῖσχομένου ἀδύνατοι μὲν φήσετε
 εἶναι, εὖνοι δ' ὄντες ἀξιώσετε μὴ κακούμενοι διωθεῖσθαι καὶ
 τὴν ἑλευθερίαν μὴ ἀκίνδυνον ὑμῶν φαίνεσθαι, δίκαιόν τε
 εἶναι, οἷς καὶ δυνατὸν δέχεσθαι αὐτήν, τούτοις καὶ ἐπι- 20
 φέρειν, ἄκοντα δὲ μηδὲνα προσαναγκάζειν, μάρτυρας μὲν
 θεοὺς καὶ ἥρως τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ποιήσομαι ὥς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
 ἦκων οὐ πείθω, γῆν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν δηῶν πειράσομαι βιά-
 3 ζεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδικεῖν ἔτι νομιῶ, προσεῖναι δέ τί μοι καὶ
 κατὰ δύο ἀνάγκας τὸ εὖλογον, τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅπως 25
 μὴ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὖνῳ, εἰ μὴ προσαχθήσεσθε, τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν
 χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναίους βλάπτωνται, οἱ δὲ
 "Ελληνες ἵνα μὴ κωλύονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν δουλείας ἀπαλ-
 4 λαγῆναι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰκότως γ' ἂν τάδε πράτσοιμεν, οὐδὲ
 ὀφείλομεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὴ κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ αἰτία 30

2 ἂν σαφῇ Bauer (fort. legit Schol.): ἀσαφῇ codd.: ἀσφαλῇ rec.
 et γρ. f 8 φαινοίμεθα vulgo: φαινόμεθα C: φαινόμεθα cett.
 9 post αἵσχιον add. τι Stobaeus et Apostolius 10 γε g cum Stob.
 et Apostol.: τε codd. 12 ὑμῶν Stahl 19 ἡμῶν A B E F M

τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐλευθεροῦν· οὐδ' αὖ ἀρχῆς ἐφίεμεθα, 5
παῦσαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐτέρους σπεύδοντες τοὺς πλείους ἂν
ἀδικοῦμεν, εἰ ζύμπασιν αὐτονομίαν ἐπιφέρουτες ὑμᾶς τοὺς
ἐναντιουμένους περιίδοιμεν. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθε ἐν, καὶ 6
5 ἀγωνίσασθε τοῖς τε Ἑλλήσιν ἄρξαι πρῶτοι ἐλευθερίας καὶ
αἰδίων δόξαν καταθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ τε ἴδια μὴ βλαφθῆναι
καὶ ζυμπάσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ κάλλιστον ὄνομα περιθεῖναι.'

Ὁ μὲν Βρασίδης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀκάνθιοι, πολλῶν 88
λεχθέντων πρότερον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κρύφα διαψηφισάμενοι,
10 διὰ τε τὸ ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπεῖν τὸν Βρασίδαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ
φόβῳ ἔγνωσαν οἱ πλείους ἀφίστασθαι Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πιστώ-
σαντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅρκοις οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
ὁμόσαντα αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψαι, ἣ μὴν ἔσεσθαι ζυμμάχους αὐτο-
νόμους οὓς ἂν προσαγάγῃται, οὕτω δέχονται τὸν στρατόν.
15 καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Στάγειρος Ἀνδρίων ἀποικία ξυν- 2
ἀπέστη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐγένετο.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου, ὥς τῷ 89
'Ιπποκράτει καὶ Δημοσθένει στρατηγοῖς οὔσιν Ἀθηναίων τὰ
ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἐνεδίδοδο καὶ ἔδει τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένη
20 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὰς Σίφας ἀπαιτῆσαι, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Δῆλιον,
γενομένης διαμαρτίας τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς ἃς ἔδει ἀμφοτέρους
στρατεύειν, ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης πρότερον πλεύσας πρὸς τὰς
Σίφας καὶ ἔχων ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ
πολλοὺς ζυμμάχων, ἀπρακτος γίγνεται μηνυθέντος τοῦ ἐπι-
25 βουλεύματος ὑπὸ Νικομάχου ἀνδρὸς Φωκέως ἐκ Φανοτέως,
ὃς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶπεν, ἐκείνοι δὲ Βοιωτοῖς· καὶ βοηθείας 2
γενομένης πάντων Βοιωτῶν (οὐ γάρ πω Ἴπποκράτης παρε-
λύπει ἐν τῇ γῇ ὧν) προκαταλαμβάνονται αἱ τε Σίφαι καὶ ἡ
Χαιρώνεια. ὥς δὲ ᾗσθοντο οἱ πράσσοντες τὸ ἀμάρτημα,
30 οὐδὲν ἐκίνησαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκράτης 90
ἀναστήσας Ἀθηναίους πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετόικους
καὶ ξένων ὅσοι παρήσαν, ὕστερος ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ Δῆλιον,

ἤδη τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἀπὸ τῶν Σιφῶν· καὶ
 καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν Δῆλιον ἐτείχιζε τοιῶδε τρόπῳ [τὸ
 2 ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος]. τάφρον μὲν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
 καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἔσκαπτον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀνέβαλλον
 ἀντὶ τείχους τὸν χοῦν, καὶ σταυροὺς παρακαταπηγνύντες, 5
 ἄμπελον κόπτοντες τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσέβαλλον καὶ λίθους
 ἅμα καὶ πλίνθον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοπέδων τῶν ἐγγὺς καθαιροῦντες,
 καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐμετεώριζον τὸ ἔρυμα. πύργους τε ξυλίνους
 κατέστησαν ἥ καὶ κairὸς ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἰκοδόμημα οὐδὲν
 3 ὑπῆρχεν· ἥπερ γὰρ ἦν στοὰ κατεπεπτώκει. ἡμέρα δὲ 10
 ἀρξάμενοι τρίτῃ ὥς οἴκοθεν ὥρμησαν ταύτην τε εἰργάζοντο
 4 καὶ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ τῆς πέμπτης μέχρι ἀρίστου. ἔπειτα,
 ὥς τὰ πλεῖστα ἀπετετέλεστο, τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον προαπε-
 χώρησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δηλίου οἶον δέκα σταδίου ὥς ἐπ' οἴκου
 πορευόμενοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν, 15
 οἱ δ' ὀπλῖται θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἡσύχαζον· Ἴπποκράτης δὲ
 ὑπομένων ἔτι καθίστατο φυλακὰς τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ προτεί-
 χισμα, ὅσα ἦν ὑπόλοιπα, ὥς χρῆν ἐπιτελέσαι.

91 Οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ξυνελέγοντο ἐς
 τὴν Τάναγραν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων παρήσαν 20
 καὶ ἡσθάνοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προχωροῦντας ἐπ' οἶκου, τῶν
 ἄλλων βοιωταρχῶν, οἳ εἰσιν ἔνδεκα, οὐ ξυνεπαινούντων
 μάχεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἔτι εἰσὶ (μάλιστα γὰρ
 ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ὠρωπίας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦσαν, ὅτε ἔθεντο
 τὰ ὄπλα), Παγώνδας ὁ Αἰολάδου βοιωταρχῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν 25
 μετ' Ἀριανθίδου τοῦ Λυσιμαχίδου καὶ ἡγεμονίας οὔσης αὐτοῦ
 βουλόμενος τὴν μάχην ποιῆσαι καὶ νομίζων ἄμεινον εἶναι
 κινδυνεῦσαι, προσκαλὼν ἐκάστους κατὰ λόχους, ὅπως μὴ
 ἄθροοι ἐκλίποιεν τὰ ὄπλα, ἔπειθε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἵεναι ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε. 30

92 'Χρῆν μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Βοιωτοί, μηδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιάν τινα

2 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος secl. Dobree
 (κατα- in littera) B F M

5 καταπηγνύντες A
 6 ἐσέβαλον C G

ἡμῶν ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων ὥς οὐκ εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίοις, ἢ
 ἄρα μὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἔτι καταλάβωμεν αὐτούς, διὰ μάχης
 ἐλθεῖν. τὴν γὰρ Βοιωτίαν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου ἐλθόντες τεῖχος
 ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι μέλλουσι φθείρειν, καὶ εἰσὶ δῆπου πολέμιοι
 5 ἐν ᾧ τε ἂν χωρίῳ καταληφθῶσι καὶ ὅθεν ἐπελθόντες πολέμια
 ἔδρασαν. νυνὶ δ' εἴ τῳ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, 2
 μεταγνώτω. οὐ γὰρ τὸ προμηθές, οἷς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπὶ, περὶ
 τῆς σφετέρας ὁμοίως ἐνδέχεται λογισμὸν καὶ ὅστις τὰ μὲν
 ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει, τοῦ πλείονος δὲ ὀρεγόμενος ἐκὼν τιμὴν ἐπέρχεται.
 10 ἀπ' αὐτῶν τε ὑμῖν στρατὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἐπελθόντα καὶ ἐν τῇ 3
 οἰκείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ὁμοίως ἀμύνεσθαι. Ἀθηναίους
 δὲ καὶ προσέτι ὁμόρους ὄντας πολλῶν μάλιστα δεῖ. πρὸς 4
 τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πᾶσι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον
 καθίσταται, καὶ πρὸς τούτους γε δῆ, οἱ καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγύς,
 15 ἡλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄπωθεν πειρῶνται δουλοῦσθαι, πῶς οὐ χρὴ
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀγωνίως ἐλθεῖν (παράδειγμα δὲ ἔχομεν
 τοὺς τε ἀντιπέραις Εὐβοέας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὸ
 πολὺ ὥς αὐτοῖς διάκειται), καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
 οἱ πλησιόχωροι περὶ γῆς ὅρων τὰς μάχας ποιοῦνται, ἡμῶν δὲ
 20 ἐς πᾶσαν, ἣν νικηθῶμεν, εἰς ὅρος οὐκ ἀντίλεκτος παγίησεται;
 ἐσελθόντες γὰρ βία τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔξουσιν. τοσούτῳ ἐπι- 5
 κινδυνωτέραν ἐτέρων τὴν παροίκησιν τῶνδε ἔχομεν. εἰώθασι
 τε οἱ ἰσχύος που θράσει τοῖς πέλας, ὥσπερ Ἀθηναῖοι νῦν,
 ἐπιόντες τὸν μὲν ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μόρῳ
 25 ἀμυνόμενον ἀδεέστερον ἐπιστρατεύειν, τὸν δὲ ἔξω ὅρων
 προαπαντῶντα καί, ἣν καιρὸς ἦ, πολέμου ἄρχοντα ἡσσαν
 ἐτοίμως κατέχειν. πεῖραν δὲ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐς τούσδε 6
 νικῆσαντες γὰρ ἐν Κορωνείᾳ αὐτούς, ὅτε τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν
 στασιαζόντων κατέσχον, πολλὴν ἄδειαν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ μέχρι
 30 τοῦδε κατεστήσαμεν. ὦν χρὴ μνησθέντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς τε 7
 πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πρὶν ἔργοις, τοὺς τε νεωτέ-
 ρους πατέρων τῶν τότε ἀγαθῶν γενομένων παῖδας πειρᾶσθαι

μὴ αἰσχύναι τὰς προσηκούσας ἀρετάς, πιστεύσαντας δὲ τῷ
θεῷ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔσσεσθαι, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνόμως τειχίσαντες
νέμονται, καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἃ ἡμῖν θύσαμένοις καλὰ φαίνεται,
ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖσδε καὶ δεῖξαι ὅτι ὦν μὲν ἐφίενται πρὸς
τοὺς μὴ ἀμνηνομένους ἐπιόντες κτάσθων, οἷς δὲ γενναῖον τήν 5
τε αὐτῶν αἰεὶ ἐλευθεροῦν μάχῃ καὶ τὴν ἄλλων μὴ δουλοῦσθαι
ἀδίκως, ἀνανταγώνιστοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπίασιν.'

- 93 Τοιαῦτα ὁ Παγώνδας τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς παραινέσας ἔπεισεν
ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἀναστήσας ἤγε
τὸν στρατόν (ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν), καὶ ἐπειδὴ 10
προσέμειξεν ἐγγὺς τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτῶν, ἐς χωρίον
καθίσας ὅθεν λόφου ὄντος μεταξὺ οὐκ ἐθεώρουν ἀλλήλους,
2 ἔτασσε τε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐς μάχην. τῷ δὲ Ἴππο-
κράτει ὄντι περὶ τὸ Δῆλιον ὡς αὐτῷ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ
ἐπέρχονται, πέμπει ἐς τὸ στράτευμα κελεύων ἐς τάξιν καθι- 15
στασθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπῆλθε, καταλιπὼν
ὡς τριακοσίους ἱππέας περὶ τὸ Δῆλιον, ὅπως φύλακές τε
ἵμα εἶεν, εἴ τις ἐπίοι αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καιρὸν
3 φυλάξαντες ἐπιγένοιντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πρὸς
τούτους ἀντικατέστησαν τοὺς ἀμνηνομένους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ 20
καλῶς αὐτοῖς εἶχεν, ὑπερεφάνησαν τοῦ λόφου καὶ ἔθεντο
τὰ ὅπλα τεταγμένοι ὥσπερ ἔμελλον, ὀπλῖται ἑπτακισχίλιοι
μάλιστα καὶ ψιλοὶ ὑπὲρ μυρίους, ἱππῆς δὲ χίλιοι καὶ πελ-
4 τασταὶ πεντακόσιοι. εἶχον δὲ δεξιὸν μὲν κέρασ Θεβαῖοι
καὶ οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς· μέσοι δὲ Ἀλιάρτιοι καὶ Κορωναῖοι 25
καὶ Κωπαιῆς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην· τὸ δὲ
εὐώνυμον εἶχον Θεσπιῆς καὶ Ταναγραῖοι καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι.
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ κέρα ἑκατέρῳ οἱ ἱππῆς καὶ ψιλοὶ ἦσαν. ἐπ'
ἀσπίδας δὲ πέντε μὲν καὶ εἴκοσι Θεβαῖοι ἐτάξαντο, οἱ δὲ
5 ἄλλοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον. αὕτη μὲν Βοιωτῶν παρασκευὴ 30
94 καὶ διάκοσμος ἦν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ

5 ἀμνηνομένους Dobree
γώνιστοι C E G (corr. G')

νουμένους Dukas : ἀμνηνομένους codd.

6 αὐτῶν C : αὐτῶν cett.

10 ἐπειδὴ G¹ : ἐπεὶ δὲ cett.

23 δὲ Bekker : τε codd.

7 ἀνα-

20 ἀμν-

πάν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐτάξαντο ὄντες πλήθει ἰσοπαλεῖς τοῖς
ἐναντίοις, ἱππῆς δὲ ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ τῷ κέρα. ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐκ
παρασκευῆς μὲν ὀπλισμένοι οὔτε τότε παρήσαν οὔτε ἐ-
γένοντο τῇ πόλει· οἵπερ δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον ὄντες πολλαπλάσιοι
5 τῶν ἐναντίων, ἄσπολοι τε πολλοὶ ἠκολούθησαν, ἅτε παι-
στρατιᾶς ξένων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἀστῶν γενομένης, καὶ
ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ὥρμησαν ἐπ' οἶκον, οὐ παρεγένοντο ὅτι μὴ
ὀλίγοι. καθεστῶτων δὲ ἐς τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἤδη μελλόντων 2
ξυνιέναι, Ἴπποκράτης ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιπαριῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον
10 τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρεκελεύετό τε καὶ ἔλεγε τοιαύδε.

‘ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δι' ὀλίγον μὲν ἢ παραίνεσις γίγνεται, τὸ 95
ἶσον δὲ πρὸς γε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας δύναται καὶ ὑπόμνησιν
μᾶλλον ἔχει ἢ ἐπικέλευσιν. παραστῇ δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν ὥς 2
ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ οὐ προσήκον τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἀναρριπτοῦμεν.
15 ἐν γὰρ τῇ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται· καὶ ἦν
νικῆσωμεν, οὐ μὴ ποτε ὑμῖν Πελοποινήσιοι ἐς τὴν χώραν
ἔνεν τῆς τῶνδε ἵππου ἐσβάλωσιν, ἐν δὲ μὴ μάχῃ τήνδε τε
προσκητᾶσθε καὶ ἐκείνῃ μᾶλλον ἐλευθεροῦτε. χωρήσατε 3
οὖν ἀξίως ἐς αὐτοὺς τῆς τε πόλεως, ἦν ἕκαστος πατρίδα
20 ἔχων πρῶτην ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀγάλλεται, καὶ τῶν πατέρων,
οἳ τούσδε μάχῃ κρατοῦντες μετὰ Μυρωνίδου ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις
τὴν Βοιωτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχον.’

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἴπποκράτους παρακελευομένου καὶ μέχρι 96
μὲν μέσου τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπελθόντος, τὸ δὲ πλέον οὐκέτι
25 φθάσαντος, οἱ Βοιωτοί, παρακελευσαμένου καὶ σφίσιν ὥς
διὰ ταχέων καὶ ἐνταῦθα Παγώνδου, παιανίσαντες ἐπήσαν
ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. ἀντεπήσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προσ-
έμειξαν δρόμῳ. καὶ ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων τὰ ἔσχατα 2
οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπαθεν· ῥύακες γὰρ
30 ἐκώλυσαν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο καρτερᾷ μάχῃ καὶ ὠθισμῷ ἀσπίδων
ξυνειστίθει. καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ μέχρι 3

12 γε Reiske: τε codd. 26 παιανίσαντες f: παιωνίσαντες (-τος E),
codd. 29 ἦλθον C G

- μέσου ἡσῆατο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐπίεσαν τοὺς τε ἄλλους ταύτῃ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς Θεσπιᾶς. ὑποχωρησάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν παρατεταγμένων, καὶ κυκλωθέντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, οἵπερ διεφθάρησαν Θεσπιῶν, ἐν χερσὶν ἀμυνόμενοι κατεκόπησαν· καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὴν 5 κύκλωσιν ταραχθέντες ἡγνόησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους. τὸ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἡσῆατο τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον κατέφυγε, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, ἧ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἦσαν, ἐκράτει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ὡσάμειοι κατὰ βραχὺ τὸ πρῶτον 4 ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ ξυνέβη, Παγώνδου περιπέμψαντος δύο 10 τέλη τῶν ἱππέων ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς περὶ τὸν λόφον, ὥς ἐπόνει τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῶν, καὶ ὑπερφανέντων αἰφνιδίως, τὸ νικῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων κέρας, ἰομίσαν ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπιέναι, 6 ἐς φόβον καταστῆναι· καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ τοιοῦτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφεπομένων καὶ παραρρη- 15 γνύντων, φυγὴ καθειστήκει παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Διήλιόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὥρμησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἕκαστοί τινα εἶχον ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας. 8 Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐφεπόμενοι ἔκτεινον, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἱππῆς οἱ 20 τε αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ βεβοηθηκότες ἄρτι τῆς τροπῆς γιγνομένης· νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ ἔργον ῥᾶον τὸ 9 πλήθος τῶν φευγόντων διεσώθη. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Δηλίου φυλακὴν ἐγκατα- 25 λιπόντες (εἶχον γὰρ αὐτὸ ὅμως ἔτι) ἀπεκομίσθησαν κατὰ 97 θάλασσαν ἐπ' οἶκον. καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀνελόμενοι νεκροὺς τοὺς τε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσαντες καὶ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Τάναγραν, καὶ τῷ Δηλίῳ ἐπεζούλευον ὥς προσβα- 30 λούντες.
- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυξ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπαντᾷ κήρυκι Βοιωτῷ, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποστρέψας καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν πράξει πρὶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἀναχωρήσῃ πάλιν, καταστὰς ἐπὶ

τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν, ὅτι οὐ δικαίως
 δράσειαν παραβαίνοντες τὰ νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων· πᾶσι 3
 γὰρ εἶναι καθεστηκὸς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἱερῶν τῶν
 ἐνόντων ἀπέχεσθαι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ Δῆλιον τειχίσαντας ἐνοι-
 5 κείν, καὶ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἐν βεβήλῳ δρῶσι πάντα γίνεσθαι
 αὐτόθι, ὕδωρ τε ὃ ἦν ἄψαντον σφίσι πλὴν πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ
 χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι, ἀνασπάσαντας ὑδρεύεσθαι· ὥστε ὑπὲρ τε 4
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῶν Βοιωτοὺς, ἐπικαλουμένους τοὺς ὁμωχέτας
 δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, προαγορεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 10 ἀπιόντας ἀποφέρεισθαι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν. τοσαῦτα τοῦ 98
 κήρυκος εἰπόντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Βοιω-
 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κήρυκα τοῦ μὲν ἱεροῦ οὔτε ἀδικῆσαι ἔφασαν
 οὐδὲν οὔτε τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐκόντες βλάψειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδι-
 15 κοῦντας μᾶλλον σφᾶς ἀμύνωνται. τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῖς 2
 Ἕλλησιν εἶναι, ὧν ἂν ᾖ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐκάστης ἢν
 τε πλέονος ἢν τε βραχυτέρας, τούτων καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αἰεὶ
 γίνεσθαι, τρόποις θεραπευόμενα οἷς ἂν πρὸς τοῖς εἰωθόσι
 καὶ δύνωται. καὶ γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν 3
 20 ἄλλων, ὅσοι ἐξαναστήσαντές τινα βίᾳ νέμονται γῆν, ἄλλο-
 τρίοις ἱεροῖς τὸ πρῶτον ἐπελθόντας οἰκεῖα νῦν κεκτῆσθαι.
 καὶ αὐτοί, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον δυνηθῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων κρατῆσαι, 4
 τοῦτ' ἂν ἔχειν· νῦν δὲ ἐν ᾧ μέρει εἰσὶν, ἐκόντες εἶναι ὥς ἐκ
 σφετέρου οὐκ ἀπιέναι. ὕδωρ τε ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ κινήσας, ἢν 5
 25 οὐκ αὐτοὶ ὕβρει προσθέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους προτέρους ἐπὶ
 τὴν σφετέραν ἐλθόντας ἀμυνόμενοι βιάζεσθαι χρῆσθαι. πᾶν 6
 δ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸ πολέμῳ καὶ δεινῷ τιμὴ κατειργόμενον
 ξύγγνωμόν τι γίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ
 30 παρανομίαν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς μὴ ἀνάγκῃ κακοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμφορῶν τι τολμήσασιν. τοὺς τε 7

1 τοὺς om. ABF
 γονται AB EF (corr. F')
 τῷ codd.

14 ἵνα om. AB EF (corr. F')
 18 πρὸς τοῖς] πρὸ τοῦ Stahl

15 ἀμύ-
 27 τὸ f:

κατειργόμενῳ Reiske

- νεκρούς πολὺν μειζόνως ἐκείνους ἀντὶ ἱερῶν ἀξιοῦντας ἀπο-
 διδόναι ἀσεβεῖν ἢ τοὺς μὴ ἐθέλοντας ἱεροῖς τὰ πρέποντα
 8 κομίζεσθαι. σαφῶς τε ἐκέλευον σφίσιν εἰπεῖν μὴ ἀπιόουσιν
 ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτῶν γῆς (οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἔτι εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ
 δὲ δορὶ ἐκτῆσαντο), ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς νεκροὺς 5
 99 σπένδουσιν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, εἰ μὲν
 ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ εἰσὶν, ἀπιόντας ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀποφέρεσθαι
 τὰ σφέτερα, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων, αὐτοὺς γιγνώσκειν τὸ
 ποιητέον, νομίζοντες, τὴν μὲν Ὠρωπίαν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς νεκροὺς
 ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς μάχης γενομένης κεῖσθαι ξυνέβη, Ἀθηναίων 10
 κατὰ τὸ ὑπήκουον εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς βία σφῶν κρατῆσαι
 αὐτῶν· οὐδ' αὖ ἐσπένδοντο δῆθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων· τὸ δὲ
 'ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν' εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι ἀποκρίνασθαι 'ἀπιόντας
 καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν ἂ ἀπαιτοῦσιν.' ὁ δὲ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ἀκούσας ἀπῆλθεν ἄπρακτος. 15
 100 Καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ εὐθὺς μεταπεμφάμενοι ἔκ τε τοῦ Μηλιῶς
 κόλπου ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας, καὶ βεβοηθηκότων αὐ-
 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν μάχην Κοριθίων τε δισχιλίῳν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ
 τῶν ἐκ Νισαίας ἐξεληλυθότων Πελοποννησιῶν φρουρῶν καὶ
 Μεγαρέων ἅμα, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Δῆλιον καὶ προσέβαλον 20
 τῷ τειχίσματι, ἄλλῳ τε τρόπῳ πειράσαντες καὶ μηχανίην
 2 προσήγαγον, ἥπερ εἶλεν αὐτό, τοιάνδε. κεραίαν μεγάλην
 δίχα πρίσαντες ἐκοίλαναν ἅπασαν καὶ ξυνήρμοσαν πάλιν
 ἀκριβῶς ὥσπερ αὐλόν, καὶ ἐπ' ἄκραν λέβητά τε ἤρτησαν
 ἀλύσεσι καὶ ἀκροφύσιον ἀπὸ τῆς κεραίας σιδηροῦν ἐς αὐτὸν 25
 νεῦον καθεῖτο, καὶ ἐσεσιδήρωτο ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου
 3 ξύλου. προσήγον δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ ἁμάξαις τῷ τείχει, ἣ
 μάλιστα τῇ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ τοῖς ξύλοις ὠκοδόμητο· καὶ ὁπότε
 εἷη ἐγγύς, φύσας μεγάλας ἐσθέντες ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν
 4 ἄκρον τῆς κεραίας ἐφύσων. ἣ δὲ πινοὶ ἰοῦσα στεγανῶς 30
 ἐς τὸν λέβητα, ἔχοντα ἄνθρακας τε ἡμμένους καὶ θεῖον καὶ
 πίσσαν, φλόγα ἐποίει μεγάλην καὶ ἥψε τοῦ τείχους, ὥστε

μηδένα ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας ἐς φυγὴν
καταστῆναι καὶ τὸ τείχισμα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἁλῶναι. τῶν 5
δὲ φρουρῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, διακόσιοι δὲ ἐλήφθησαν· τῶν
δὲ ἄλλων τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβὰν ἀπεκομίσθη ἐπ'
5 οἴκου. τοῦ δὲ Δηλίου ἑπτακαίδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ληφθέντος 101
μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκος οὐδὲν
ἐπισταμένου τῶν γεγενημένων ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον
αὐθις περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀπέδοσαν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ οὐκέτι
ταῦτά ἀπεκρίναντο. ἀπέθανον δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ 2
10 ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους πεντακοσίῳ, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους
χιλίων καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ὁ στρατηγός, ψιλῶν δὲ καὶ σκευοφόρων
πολὺς ἀριθμός.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ταύτην καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὀλίγῳ 3
ὕστερον, ὥς αὐτῷ τότε πλεύσαντι τὰ περὶ τὰς Σίφας τῆς
15 προδοσίας πέρι οὐ προυχώρησεν, ἔχων τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ
τῶν νεῶν τῶν τε Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀγραιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων
τετρακοσίους ὀπλίτας, ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὴν Σικυ-
ωνίαν. καὶ πρὶν πάσας τὰς ναῦς καταπλεῦσαι βοηθήσαντες 4
οἱ Σικυώνιοι τοὺς ἀποβεβηκότας ἔτρεψαν καὶ κατεδίωξαν ἐς
20 τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον.
τροπαίῳ δὲ στήσαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

Ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Σιτάλκης Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τὰς 5
αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τοῖς ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Τριβαλλοὺς
καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ. Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Σπαραδόκου ἀδελφιδοῦς
25 ὦν αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀδρυσῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης
ἥσπερ καὶ ἐκείνος.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Βρασίδης ἔχων τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης 102
ξυμμαχοὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι
ποταμῷ Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐφ' οὗ 2
30 νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπείρασε μὲν πρότερον καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας
ὁ Μιλήσιος φεύγων βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατοικίσαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ
Ἡδώνων ἐξεκρούσθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτεσι δύο

καὶ τριάκοντα ὕστερον, ἐποίκουσ μυρίους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον πέμψαντες, οἱ διεφθάρησαν
3 ἐν Δραβήσκῳ ὑπὸ Θρακῶν. καὶ αὖθις ἐνὸς δέοντι τριακοστῷ
ἔτει ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἄγνωτος τοῦ Νικίου οἰκιστοῦ
ἐκπεμφθέντος, Ἡδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες ἔκτισαν τὸ χωρίον 5
τοῦτο, ὅπερ πρότερον Ἐυνέα ὁδοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο. ὥρμωντο
δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἡόνος, ἣν αὐτοὶ εἶχον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιθαλάσσιον, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχον
ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως, ἣν Ἀμφίπολιν Ἄγνω ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι
ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω περιρρέοντος τοῦ Στρυμόνος [διὰ τὸ περιέχειν 10
αὐτὴν] τείχει μακρῷ ἀπολαβὼν ἐκ ποταμοῦ εἰς ποταμὸν
περιφανῇ εἰς θάλασσαν τε καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ᾤκισεν.

- 103 Ἐπὶ ταύτην οὖν ὁ Βρασίδης ἄρας ἐξ Ἀρνῶν τῆς Χαλκι-
δικῆς ἐπορεύετο τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ ἀφικόμενος περὶ δειλῇν
ἐπὶ τὸν Αὐλῶνα καὶ Βορμίσκον, ἥ ἡ Βόλβη λίμνη ἐξίησιν 15
εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενος ἐχώρει τὴν νύκτα.
2 χειμῶν δὲ ἦν καὶ ὑπένειφεν· ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμησε, βουλό-
μενος λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀμφιπόλει πλὴν τῶν προδιδόντων.
3 ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀργιλίων τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκήτορες (εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ
Ἀργίλιοι Ἀνδρίων ἄποικοι) καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ ξυνέπρασσον 20
ταῦτα, οἱ μὲν Περδίκκα πειθόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδεῦσιν.
4 μάλιστα δὲ οἱ Ἀργίλιοι, ἐγγύς τε προσοικοῦντες καὶ αἰεὶ
ποτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὄντες ὑποπτοὶ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῷ
χωρίῳ, ἐπειδὴ παρέτυχεν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ Βρασίδης ἦλθεν,
ἔπραζάν τε ἐκ πλέονος πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπολιτεύοντας σφῶν 25
ἐκεῖ ὅπως ἐνδοθήσεται ἡ πόλις, καὶ τότε δεξάμενοι αὐτὸν
τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ
κατέστησαν τὸν στρατὸν πρὸ ἑῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ
5 ποταμοῦ. ἀπέχει δὲ τὸ πόλισμα πλεον τῆς διαβάσεως,
καὶ οὐ καθεῖτο τείχῃ ὥσπερ νῦν, φυλακὴ δέ τις βραχεῖα 30
καθειστήκει· ἦν βιασάμενος ῥαδίως ὁ Βρασίδης, ἅμα μὲν

10 διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτὴν secl. Dobree 15 Βορμίσκον Stahl : Βρο-
μίσκον vel Βρωμίσκον codd. 28 προ εωι (sic) E : πρόσω cett.

τῆς προδοσίας οὔσης, ἅμα δὲ καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοισ προσπεσόν, διέβη τὴν γέφυραν, καὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν Ἀμφίπολιτῶν οἰκούντων κατὰ πᾶν τὸ χωρίον εὐθὺς εἶχεν. τῆς δὲ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ ἄφνω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει 104
5 γεγεννημένης, καὶ τῶν ἔξω πολλῶν μὲν ἀλισκομένῳ, τῶν δὲ καὶ καταφευγόντων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ Ἀμφίπολιται ἐς θόρυβον μέγαν κατέστησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὑποποτιόντες. καὶ λέγεται Βρασίδα, εἰ ἠθέλησε μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν 2
τῷ στρατῷ τραπέσθαι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς χωρῆσαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, 10
δοκεῖν ἂν ἐλεῖν. νῦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἰδρύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεὶ 3
τὰ ἔξω ἐπέδραμε καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνδον ὥς προσεδέχετο ἀπέβαιναι, ἡσύχαζεν· οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι τοῖς προδιδούσι, 4
κρατοῦντες τῷ πλήθει ὥστε μὴ αὐτίκα τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγεσθαι, πέμπουσι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
15 παρῆν αὐτοῖς φύλαξ τοῦ χωρίου, ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραφεν, ὄντα περὶ Θάσον (ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος Παρίων ἀποικία, ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως ἡμίσεος ἡμέρας μάλιστα πλουῖν), κελεύοντες σφίσι βοηθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀκούσας κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὰ ναυσὶν 5
20 αἱ ἔτυχον παροῦσαι ἔπλει, καὶ ἐβούλετο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρὶν τι ἐνδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν Ἡϊόνα προκαταλαβών.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Βρασίδας δεδιὼς καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου 105
τῶν νεῶν βοήθειαν καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὸν Θουκυδίδην κτῆσίν
25 τε ἔχειν τῶν χρυσείων μετάλλων ἐργασίας ἐν τῇ περὶ ταῦτα Θράκῃ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν, ἡπείγετο προκατασχεῖν, εἰ δύναίτο, τὴν πόλιν, μὴ ἀφικνουμένου αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν, ἐλπίσαν ἐκ θαλάσσης ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης ἀγείραντα αὐτὸν
30 περιποιήσειν σφᾶς, οὐκέτι προσχωροίη. καὶ τὴν ξύμβασιν 2

2 ἀπροσδοκῆτοισ scripsi : ἀπροσδόκητος codd.
10 ἐπεὶ C¹ F : ἐπὶ cett. 11 post καὶ add. ὥς c G
Bekker : Ἀθηναίων codd. 16 τῶν] τὸν C G [M]
(sic) G M : προχωροίη E : προχωροῖ cett.

9 τρέπεσθαι C G
14 Ἀθηνῶν
30 προσχωροῖ

- μετρίαν ἐποιεῖτο, κήρυγμα τόδε ἀνειπών, Ἀμφιπολιτῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐνόντων τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἴσης καὶ ὁμοίας μετέχοντα μένειν, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλοντα
 106 ἀπιέναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφερόμενον πέντε ἡμερῶν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἀλλοιότεροι ἐγένοντο τὰς γυνώμας, ἄλλως τε καὶ 5 βραχὺ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐμπολιτεῦον, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ξύμμεικτον, καὶ τῶν ἔξω ληφθέντων συχνοῖς οἰκεῖοι ἔνδον ἦσαν· καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς τὸν φόβον δίκαιον εἶναι ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὸ ἄσμενοι ἂν ἐξελθεῖν, ἡγούμενοι οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ σφίσι τὰ δεινὰ εἶναι καὶ ἅμα οὐ προσδεχόμενοι 10 βοήθειαν ἐν τάχει, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὄμιλος πόλεώς τε ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οὐ στερισκόμενοι καὶ κινδύνου παρὰ δόξαν ἀφιέμενοι. ὥστε τῶν πρᾶσσόντων τῷ Βρασίδῃ ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διαδικαιομένων αὐτά, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἑώρων τετραμμένον καὶ τοῦ παρόντος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγού οὐκέτι ἀκροώμενον, 15 ἐγένετο ἡ ὁμολογία καὶ προσεδέξαντο ἐφ' οἷς ἐκήρυξεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ παρέδοσαν, ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης καὶ αἱ νῆες ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὅψε' κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἡϊόνα. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν Βρασίδας ἄρτι εἶχε, τὴν δὲ Ἡϊόνα παρὰ νύκτα ἐγένετο λαβεῖν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐβοήθησαν αἱ νῆες 20 διὰ τάχους, ἅμα ἔφ' ἂν εἶχετο.
- 107 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἡϊόνῃ καθίστατο, ὅπως καὶ τὸ αὐτίκα, ἦν ἐπὶ ἡ Βρασίδας, καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα ἀσφαλῶς ἔξι, δεξάμενος τοὺς ἐθελήσαντας ἐπιχωρῆσαι ἄνωθεν κατὰ 2 τὰς σπονδὰς· ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ἡϊόνα κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν 25 πολλοῖς πλοίοις ἄφνω καταπλεύσας, εἴ πως τὴν προύχουσαν ἄκραν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους λαβὼν κρατοῖν τοῦ ἔσπλου, καὶ κατὰ γῆν ἀποπειράσας ἅμα, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσθῃ, τὰ δὲ περὶ 3 τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ Μύρκινός τε αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν Ἡδωνικὴ πόλις, Πιπτακοῦ τοῦ Ἡδώνων βασιλέως 30 ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ τῶν Γοάξιος παίδων καὶ Βραυροῦς τῆς

6 Ἀθηναῖον Dobree
 βανον G M : ἐλάμβανον cett.

7 συχνοῖς E : συχνοὶ cett.
 10 σφίσιν εἶναι τὰ δεινὰ A B E F M

8 ὑπελάμ-
 10 σφίσιν εἶναι τὰ δεινὰ A B E F M

γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ Γαληψὸς οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καὶ Οἰσύμη·
εἰσὶ δὲ αὐταὶ Θασίῳ ἀποικίαι. παρὼν δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας
εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ξυγκαθίστη ταῦτα.

Ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μέγα δέος 108
5 κατέστησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἦν ὠφέλιμος
ξύλων τε ναυπηγησίμων πομπῇ καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ, καὶ
ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἦν πάροδος Θεσσαλῶν διαγόντων
ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους σφῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τῆς δὲ γε-
φύρας μὴ κρατούντων, ἄνωθεν μὲν μεγάλης οὔσης ἐπὶ πολὺ
10 λίμνης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἡϊόνα τριήρεσι τηρουμένων,
οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι προελθεῖν· τότε δὲ ῥάδια ἤδη [ἐνόμιζεν]
γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἀποστῶσιν.
ὁ γὰρ Βρασίδης ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μέτριον ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχε, 2
καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πανταχοῦ ἐδήλου ὡς ἐλευθερώσων τὴν
15 Ἑλλάδα ἐκπεμφθεῖ. καὶ αἱ πόλεις πυνθανόμεναι αἱ τῶν 3
Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι τῆς τε Ἀμφιπόλεως τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ ἃ
παρέχεται, τὴν τε ἐκείνου πραότητα, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπήρθησαν
ἐς τὸ νεωτερίζειν, καὶ ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν κρύφα,
ἐπιπαριέναι τε κελεύοντες καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι
20 πρῶτοι ἀποστῆναι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄδεια ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς, 4
ἐψευσμένοις μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅση
ὕστερον διεφάνη, τὸ δὲ πλεόν βουλήσει κρίνοντες ἀσαφεῖ ἢ
προνοῖα ἀσφαλεῖ, εἰωθότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
ἐλπίδι ἀπερισκέπτῳ διδόναι, ὃ δὲ μὴ προσίενται λογισμῷ
25 αὐτοκράτορι διωθεῖσθαι. ἅμα δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς 5
Βοιωτοῖς νεωστὶ πεπληγμένων καὶ τοῦ Βρασίδου ἐφορκᾷ
καὶ οὐ τὰ ὄντα λέγοντος, ὡς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Νίσαιαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
μόνῃ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμβαλεῖν, ἐθάρ-
σουν καὶ ἐπίστευον μηδένα ἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς βοηθῆσαι. τὸ 6

1 Γαληψὸς Steph. Byz.: Γαψηλδς codd. 10 τηρουμένου Hude
11 προελθεῖν Stephanus: προσελθεῖν codd. ῥάδια vulgo: ῥαδία
codd. ἐνόμιζεν secl. Kistemaker: ἐνόμιζον recc. 13 αὐ-
τὸν CG 21 ἐψευσμένοι E: ἐψεύσμένης AB 28 post στρατιᾷ
add. βοηθήσαντι Linwood

δὲ μέγιστοι, διὰ τὸ ἡδοιῇν ἔχον ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα καὶ ὅτι
 τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίων ὀργώντων ἔμελλον πειράσασθαι,
 κινδυνεύειν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν. ὧν αἰσθανόμενοι
 οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς, ὥς ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐν χειμῶνι,
 διέπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐφι- 5
 μένος στρατιάν τε προσασπαστέλλειν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν
 7 τῷ Στρυμόνι ναυπηγίαν τριήρων παρεσκευάζετο. οἱ δὲ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν
 οὐχ ὑπηρετήσαν αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι μᾶλλον τοὺς
 τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον 10
 καταλῦσαι.

- 109 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Μεγαρῆς τε τὰ μακρὰ τείχη,
 ἃ σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, κατέσκαψαν ἐλόντες ἐς ἔδαφος,
 καὶ Βρασιῖδας μετὰ τὴν Ἀμφιπόλεως ἄλωσιν ἔχων τοὺς
 2 ξυμμάχους στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην. ἔστι δὲ 15
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορύγματος ἔσω προύχουσα, καὶ ὁ Ἄθως
 3 αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος. πόλεις
 δὲ ἔχει Σάνην μὲν Ἀνδρῶν ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα,
 ἐς τὸ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας
 Θυσσὸν καὶ Κλεωνὰς καὶ Ἀκροθῶους καὶ Ὀλόφυξον καὶ 20
 4 Δῖον· αἱ οἰκοῦνται ξυμμείκτοις ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων,
 καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχύ, τὸ δὲ πλείστον Πελασγικόν,
 τῶν καὶ Λήμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων,
 καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες· κατὰ δὲ
 5 μικρὰ πολίσματα οἰκοῦσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους προσ- 25
 ἐχώρησαν τῷ Βρασιῖδᾳ, Σάνη δὲ καὶ Δῖον ἀντέστη, καὶ αὐτῶν
 110 τὴν χώραν ἐμμείνας τῷ στρατῷ ἐδήρου. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουον,
 εὐθύς στρατεύει ἐπὶ Τορώνην τὴν Χαλκιδικήν, κατεχομένην
 ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ αὐτὸν ἄνδρες ὀλίγοι ἐπήγοιτο, ἐτοῖμοι
 ὄντες τὴν πόλιν παραδοῦναι. καὶ ἀφικόμενος νυκτὸς ἔτι 30
 καὶ περὶ ὄρθρον τῷ στρατῷ ἐκαθέζετο πρὸς τὸ Διοσκόρειον,

ὃ ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως τρεῖς μάλιστα σταδίους. τὴν μὲν 2
 οὖν ἄλλην πόλιν τῶν Τορωαίων καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς
 ἐμφρουροῦντας ἔλαθεν· οἱ δὲ πρᾶσσοντες αὐτῷ εἰδότες ὅτι
 ἦξοι, καὶ προελθόντες τινὲς αὐτῶν λάθρα ὀλίγοι, ἐτήρουν τὴν
 5 πρόσδοον, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο παρόντα, ἐσκομίζουσι παρ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἄνδρας ψιλοὺς ἑπτὰ (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ μόνοι
 ἀνδρῶν εἴκοσι τὸ πρῶτον ταχθέντων οὐ κατέδεισαν ἐσελθεῖν·
 ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Λυσίστρατος Ὀλύνθιος), οἱ διαδύντες διὰ τοῦ
 πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τείχους καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ
 10 ἀνωτάτῳ φυλακτηρίου φρουροὺς, οὔσης τῆς πόλεως πρὸς
 λόφον, ἀναβάντες διέφθειραν καὶ τὴν κατὰ Καναστραῖον
 πυλίδα διήρουν. ὁ δὲ Βρασίδης τῷ μὲν ἄλλῳ στρατῷ III
 ἡσύχαζεν ὀλίγον προελθὼν, ἑκατὸν δὲ πελταστὰς προπέμπει,
 ὅπως, ὅποτε πύλαι τινὲς ἀνοιχθεῖεν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀρθείη ὃ
 15 ξυνέκειτο, πρῶτοι ἐσδράμοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν χρόνου ἐγγιγνο- 2
 μένου καὶ θαυμάζοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἔτυχον ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως
 προσελθόντες· οἱ δὲ τῶν Τορωαίων ἐνδοθεν παρασκευ-
 ᾶζοντες μετὰ τῶν ἐσεληλυθόντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἢ τε πυλὶς
 διήρητο καὶ αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πύλαι τοῦ μοχλοῦ διακο-
 20 πέντος ἀνεώγοντο, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα τινας περι-
 αγαγόντες ἐσεκόμισαν, ὅπως κατὰ νότον καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν εἰδότας ἐξαπίνης φοβήσεται, ἔπειτα
 τὸ σημεῖόν τε τοῦ πυρός, ὡς εἴρητο, ἀνέσχον, καὶ διὰ τῶν
 κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πυλῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἤδη τῶν πελταστῶν
 25 ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης ἰδὼν τὸ ξύνθημα ἔθει δρόμῳ, II2
 ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐμβοήσαντάς τε ἀθρόον καὶ ἔκπληξιν
 πολλὴν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρασχόντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ 2
 τὰς πύλας εὐθὺς ἐσέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ δοκοὺς τετραγώνους,
 αἱ ἔτυχον τῷ τείχει πεπτωκότι καὶ οἰκοδομουμένῳ πρὸς λίθων
 30 ἀνολκὴν προσκείμεναι. Βρασίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ πλήθος 3

4 προσελθόντες C E F¹ G M 10 ἀνωτάτῳ M : ἀνωτάτου B suprascr.
 G : ἀνώτατα cett. 21 ἐσεκόμισαν recc. : ἐσεκομίσαντο E : ἐξεκό-
 μισαν cett. 26 ἐμβοήσαντά A B E F M suprascr. G 27 παρα-
 σχόντας c G : παρασχόντα cett.

εὐθὺς αἶνω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως ἐτράπετο, βουλό-
μενος κατ' ἄκρας καὶ βεβαίως ἐλεῖν αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος
ὅμιλος κατὰ πάντα ὁμοίως ἐσκεδάννυντο.

- II3 Τῶν δὲ Τορωναίων γιγνομένης τῆς ἀλώσεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ
οὐδὲν εἰδὸς ἐθоруβεῖτο, οἱ δὲ πράσσοντες καὶ οἷς ταῦτα 5
2 ἤρεσκε μετὰ τῶν ἐσελθόντων εὐθὺς ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
(ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὑπλῖται καθεύδοντες ὥς πεντήκοντα)
ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο, οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγοι διαφθείρονται ἐν χερσὶν
αὐτῶν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς, αἱ
ἐφρούρουν δύο, καταφυγόντες διασφύζονται ἐς τὴν Λήκυθον 10
τὸ φρούριον, ὃ εἶχον αὐτοὶ καταλαβόντες, ἄκρον τῆς πόλεως
3 ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπειλημμένοι ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ. κατέ-
φυγον δὲ καὶ τῶν Τορωναίων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἦσαν σφίσιν
II4 ἐπιτήδειοι. γεγεννημένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἤδη καὶ βεβαίως τῆς
πόλεως ἐχομένης ὁ Βρασιῖδας τοῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 15
Τορωναίοις καταπεφευγόσι κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο τὸν βουλό-
μενον ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξελθόντα ἀδεῶς πολιτεύειν, τοῖς δὲ
Ἀθηναίοις κήρυκα προσπέμψας ἐξίέναι ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τῆς
Ληκύθου ὑποσπόνδους καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας ὥς οὔσης
2 Χαλκιδέων. οἱ δὲ ἐκλείψειν μὲν οὐκ ἔφασαν, σπείσασθαι 20
δὲ σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ἡμέραν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελέσθαι. ὁ δὲ
ἐσπείσατο δύο. ἐν ταύταις δὲ αὐτὸς τε τὰς ἐγγὺς οἰκίας
3 ἐκρατύνατο καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ σφέτερα. καὶ ξύλλογον τῶν
Τορωναίων ποιήσας ἔλεξε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ παραπλήσια,
ὅτι οὐ δίκαιον εἴη οὔτε τοὺς πράξαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν 25
λῆψιν τῆς πόλεως χείρους οὐδὲ προδότας ἡγεῖσθαι (οὐ γὰρ
ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ οὐδὲ χρήμασι πεισθέντας δρᾶσαι τοῦτο, ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς πόλεως) οὔτε τοὺς μὴ μετα-
σχόντας οἶεσθαι μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τεύξεσθαι· ἀφίχθαι γὰρ οὐ
4 διαφθερῶν οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε ἰδιώτην οὐδένα. τὸ δὲ κήρυγμα 30
ποιήσασθαι τούτου ἕνεκα τοῖς παρ' Ἀθηναίους καταπεφευ-

γόσιν, ὥς ἡγούμενος οὐδέν χείρους τῇ ἐκείνων φιλίᾳ· οὐδ' ἂν σφῶν πειρασαμένους αὐτοὺς [τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων] δοκεῖν ἦσσαν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ δικαιότερα πράσσουσιν, εὖνους ἂν σφίσι γενέσθαι, ἀπειρία δὲ νῦν πεφοβῆσθαι. τοὺς 5
 5 τε πάντας παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐκέλευεν ὥς βεβαίους τε ἐσο- μένους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἤδη ὅτι ἂν ἁμαρτάνωσιν αἰτίαν ἔξοντας· τὰ δὲ πρότερα οὐ σφείς ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μᾶλλον ὑπ' ἄλλων κρεισσόνων, καὶ ξυγγνώμην εἶναι εἴ τι ἡναντιοῦντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρα- 115
 10 θαρσύνας διελθουσῶν τῶν σποιδῶν τὰς προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο τῇ Ληκύθῳ· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἡμύνοντό τε ἐκ φαύλου τειχί- σματος καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίων ἐπάλξεις ἐχουσῶν, καὶ μίαν μὲν 2 ἡμέραν ἀπεκρούσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία μηχανῆς μελλούσης προσάξεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀφ' ἧς πῦρ ἐνήσειν 15 διεννοοῦντο ἐς τὰ ξύλινα παραφράγματα, καὶ προσιόντος ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἣ ᾗοντο μάλιστα αὐτοὺς προσκομιεῖν τὴν μηχανὴν καὶ ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατοι, πύργον ξύλινον ἐπ' οἴκημα ἀντέστησαν, καὶ ὕδατος ἀμφορέας πολλοὺς καὶ πίθους ἀνεφό- ρησαν καὶ λίθους μεγάλους, ἀνθρωποὶ τε πολλοὶ ἀνέβησαν. 20 τὸ δὲ οἴκημα λαβὼν μείζον ἄχθος ἑξαπίνης κατερράγη καὶ 3 ψόφου πολλοῦ γενομένου τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς καὶ ὀρώντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλύπησε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφόβησεν, οἱ δὲ ἄπωθεν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ διὰ πλείστου, νομίσαντες ταύτῃ ἑαλωκέναι ἤδη τὸ χωρίον, φυγῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὥρμησαν. 25 καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας ὥς ᾗσθητο αὐτοὺς ἀπολείποντάς τε τὰς 116 ἐπάλξεις καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὀρῶν, ἐπιφερόμενος τῷ στρατῷ εὐθὺς τὸ τεῖχος λαμβάνει, καὶ ὅσους ἐγκατέλαβε δι- ἐφθειρεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς τε πλοίοις καὶ ταῖς 2 ναυσὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ χωρίον ἐς Παλλήνην 30 διεκομίσθησαν· ὁ δὲ Βρασίδας (ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ληκύθῳ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, καὶ ἔτυχε κηρύξας, ὅτε ἐμελλε προσβαλεῖν,

2 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων secl. Heilmann 5 ἐκέλευεν ABF
 31 προσβαλεῖν E : προσβάλλειν CG : βάλλειν cett.

- τῷ ἐπιβάντι πρώτῳ τοῦ τείχους τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἀργυρίου
 δώσειν) νομίσας ἄλλῃ τινὶ τρόπῳ ἢ ἀνθρωπεῖα τὴν ἄλωσην
 γενέσθαι, τὰς τε τριάκοντα μνᾶς τῇ θεῷ ἀπέδωκεν ἐς τὸ
 ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν Λήκυθον καθελὼν καὶ ἀνασκευάσας τέμενος
 3 ἀνῆκεν ἅπαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἃ τε εἶχε 5
 τῶν χωρίων καθίστατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεβούλευεν· καὶ
 τοῦ χειμῶνος διελθόντος ὄγδοον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ.
- 117 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου
 θέρους εὐθὺς ἐκεχειρίαν ἐποίησαντο ἐνιαύσιοι, νομίσαντες
 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τὸν Βρασίδαν σφῶν προσάπο- 10
 στήσαι οὐδὲν πρὶν παρασκευάσαιντο καθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἅμα,
 εἰ καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχοι, καὶ ξυμβῆναι τὰ πλείω, Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγούμενοι ἅπερ ἐδέδισαν
 φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ γενομένης ἀνοκωχῆς κακῶν καὶ τालαιπωρίας
 μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσειν αὐτοὺς πειρασμένους ξυναλλαγῆναι τε 15
 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφίσιν ἀποδόντας σποινὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ
 2 ἐς τὸν πλείω χρόνον. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας περὶ πλέονος
 ἐποιοῦντο κομίσασθαι, ὥς ἔτι Βρασίδας ἡτύχει· καὶ ἔμελλον
 ἐπὶ μείζον χωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος
 τῶν μὲν στéρεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνόμενοι κινδύ- 20
 3 νεύσειν καὶ κρατήσιν. γίγνεται οὖν ἐκεχειρία αὐτοῖς τε καὶ
 τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἥδε.
- 118 Ἐπερὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
 τοῦ Πυθίου δοκεῖ ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδόλως
 2 καὶ ἀδεῶς κατὰ τοὺς πατέριους νόμους. τοῖς μὲν Λακε- 25
 δαιμονίοις ταῦτα δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τοῖς παροῦσιν·
 Βοιωτοὺς δὲ καὶ Φωκέας πείσειν φασὶν ἐς δύναμιν προσ-
 3 κηρυκευόμενοι. περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπι-
 μέλεσθαι ὅπως τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐξευρήσομεν, ὀρθῶς καὶ

12 καὶ] κἂν Krüger 13 τε ABCF ἐδέδισαν (sic) fM:
 ἔδεισαν cett. 18 ὥς ἔτι] ἕως ὅτ' ὁ sic Schol. Ar. Pac. 479 20 fort.
 στερε(ήσ)εσθαι scribendum κινδυνεύειν A B E F 25 καὶ ἀδεῶς
 F' G M: om. cett. 28 alterum τῶν om. A B E F M 29 ἐξευρή-
 σωμεν C F M

δικαίως τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ βουλόμενοι, τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρώμενοι
πάντες. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἔδοξε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς 4
ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταῦτα· τὰδε δὲ ἔδοξε Λακεδαιμονίοις
5 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ἔαν σποινδὰς ποιῶνται οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν μένειν ἐκατέρους ἔχοντας ἅπερ νῦν
ἔχομεν, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Κορυφασίῳ ἐντὸς τῆς Βουφράδος καὶ
τοῦ Τομέως μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Κυθήροις μὴ ἐπιμισγο-
μένους ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, μήτε ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μήτε αὐτοὺς
10 πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τοὺς δ' ἐν Νισαίᾳ καὶ Μινύᾳ μὴ ὑπερβαίνοντας
τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Νίσου ἐπὶ τὸ
Ποσειδώνιον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν
τὴν ἐς Μινύαν (μηδὲ Μεγαρέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὑπερ-
βαίνειν τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην) καὶ τὴν ἰῆσοι, ἥνπερ ἔλαβον οἱ
15 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντας, μηδὲ ἐπιμισγομένους μηδετέρους μηδε-
τέρωσε, καὶ τὰ ἐν Τροιζίνι, ὅσαπερ νῦν ἔχουσι, καθ' ἃ
ξυνέθεντο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ χρωμένους, ὅσα 5
ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, Λακεδαιμονίους
καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους πλεῖν μὴ μακρῇ ἰγῇ, ἄλλῃ δὲ κωπήρει
20 πλοίῳ, ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἄγοιτι μέτρα. κήρυκι δὲ καὶ 6
πρεσβείᾳ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖς, ὅπόσοις ἂν δοκῇ, περὶ καταλύσεως
τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δικῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ Ἀθήνας
σποινδὰς εἶναι ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσαν. τοὺς δὲ αὐτομόλους μὴ δέχεσθαι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ 7
25 χρόνῳ, μήτε ἐλεύθερον μήτε δοῦλον, μήτε ὑμᾶς μήτε ἡμᾶς.
δίκας τε διδόναι ὑμᾶς τε ἡμῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑμῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, 8
τὰ ἀμφίλογα δίκη διαλύοντας ἄνευ πολέμου. τοῖς μὲν Λακε- 9
δαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ταῦτα δοκεῖ· εἰ δέ τι ὑμῖν
εἴτε κάλλιον εἴτε δικαιότερον τούτων δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἴοντες ἐς
30 Λακεδαίμονα διδάσκετε· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἀποστήσονται, ὅσα ἂν

4 ἄλλοις F' G M: om. cett. κατὰ ταῦτα . . . ξυμμάχοις F' (om.
ἄλλοις) M (om. δὲ): om. cett. 11 ἀπὸ τοῦ Νισαίου f' M τοῦ] τὸ
Dobrec 15 μηδὲ Porpo: μήτε codd. 16 καθ' ἃ Kirchhoff:
καὶ οἷα codd. 21 ἂν recc.: ἔαν codd.

- δίκαια λέγητε, οὔτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε οἱ ξύμμαχοι.
 10 οἱ δὲ ἰόντες τέλος ἔχοντες ἰόντων, ἥπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμᾶς
 κελεύετε. αἱ δὲ σπονδαὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔσονται.
- 11 Ἐδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ. Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Φαίνιππος
 ἐγραμμάτευε, Νικιάδης ἐπεστάτει. Λάχης εἶπε, τύχη ἀγαθῇ 5
 τῇ Ἀθηναίων, ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν καθ' ἃ ξυγχωροῦσι
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ ὠμολόγησαν ἐν
 12 τῷ δήμῳ· τὴν <δ> ἐκεχειρίαν εἶναι ἐνιαυτόν, ἄρχειν δὲ
 τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν, τετράδα ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος
 13 μηνός. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἰόντας ὡς ἀλλήλους πρέσβεις 10
 καὶ κήρυκας ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, καθ' ὅτι ἔσται ἡ κατὰ-
 14 λυσις τοῦ πολέμου. ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατη-
 γοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης . . . βου-
 λεύσασθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐσὶν ἡ πρεσβεία περὶ
 τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου. σπείσασθαι δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα 15
 τὰς πρεσβείας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὰς παρούσας ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν ἐν
 ταῖς σπονδαῖς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.'
- 119 Ταῦτα ξυνέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι [καὶ ὤμοσαν] καὶ οἱ
 ξύμμαχοι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις μηνὸς ἐν Λακε-
 2 δαίμονι Γεραστίου δωδεκάτῃ. ξυνετίθεντο δὲ καὶ ἐσπένδοντο 20
 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἷδε· Ταῦρος Ἐχετιμίδα, Ἀθήναιος
 Περικλείδα, Φιλοχαρίδας Ἐρυξилаῖδα· Κορινθίων δὲ Αἰνέας
 Ὠκύτου, Εὐφαμίδας Ἀριστωνύμου· Σικωνίων δὲ Δαρμότιμος
 Ναυκράτους, Ὀνάσιμος Μεγακλέους· Μεγαρέων δὲ Νίκασος
 Κεκάλου, Μενεκράτης Ἀμφιδώρου· Ἐπιδανρίων δὲ Ἀμφίας 25
 Εὐπαυίδα· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ Νικόστρατος Διειτρέ-
 φους, Νικίας Νικηράτου, Αὐτοκλῆς Τολμαίου.
- 3 ἼΙ μὲν δὴ ἐκεχειρία αὕτη ἐγένετο, καὶ ξυνῆσαν ἐν αὐτῇ
 περὶ τῶν μειζόνων σπονδῶν διὰ παντός ἐς λόγους.

8 δ' add. Kirchhoff 13 lacunam statuit Kirchhoff 14 ἂν ἐσὶν]
 εἰσιν Kirchhoff 18 καὶ ὤμοσαν secl. Kirchhoff ὤμοσαν] ὠμολό-
 γησαν (sic) E post ὤμοσαν add. Λακεδαιμόνιοι F' G M 22 Ἐρυξι-
 λαῖδα Valckenacr : Ἐρυξίδαῖδα (vel similia) codd. Αἰνέας E : Ἐνέας
 vel Ἐνέας cett. [G]

Περὶ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας αἰς ἐπὶ ἤρχοντο Σκιώνη ἐν 120
τῇ Παλλήνῃ πόλιν ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βρασίδαν.
φασὶ δὲ οἱ Σκιωναῖοι Πελληνῆς μὲν εἶναι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου,
πλέοντας δ' ἀπὸ Τροίας σφῶν τοὺς πρώτους κατενεχθῆναι
5 ἐς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ χειμῶνι ᾧ ἐχρήσαντο Ἀχαιοί, καὶ
αὐτοῦ οἰκῆσαι. ἀποστάσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρασίδης διέπλευσε 2
νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Σκιώνην, τριήρει μὲν φιλία προπλεύσῃ, αὐτὸς
δὲ ἐν κελητίῳ ἄπωθεν ἐφεπόμενος, ὅπως, εἰ μὲν τι τοῦ
κέλητος μείζονι πλοίῳ περιτυγχάνοι, ἢ τριήρης ἀμύνει αὐτῷ,
10 ἀντιπάλου δὲ ἄλλης τριήρους ἐπιγενομένης οὐ πρὸς τὸ
ἔλασσον νομίζων τρέψεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
αὐτὸν διασώσειν. περαιωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ζύλλογον ποιήσας τῶν 3
Σκιωναίων ἔλεγεν ἅ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῃ καὶ Τορώῃ, καὶ
προσέτι φάσκων ἀξιώτάτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐπαίνου, οἷτινες
15 τῆς Παλλήνης ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἀπειλημένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων
Ποτείδαιαν ἐχόντων καὶ ὄντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ νῆσιώται αὐτ-
επάγγελτοι ἐχώρησαν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνέμειναι
ἀτολμία ἀνάγκην σφίσι προσγενέσθαι περὶ τοῦ φανερῶς
οἰκείου ἀγαθοῦ· σημείον τ' εἶναι τοῦ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἂν αὐτοὺς
20 τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρείως ὑπομείναι· εἴ τε θήσεται κατὰ νοῦν
τὰ πράγματα, πιστοτάτους τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἡγήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίων φίλους καὶ τὰλλα τιμῆσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν 121
Σκιωναῖοι ἐπὶ ἤρθσαν τε τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θαρσύνοντες πάντες
ὁμοίως, καὶ οἷς πρότερον μὴ ἤρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα, τὸν τε
25 πόλεμον διενόουντο προθύμως οἷσειν καὶ τὸν Βρασίδαν τὰ
τ' ἄλλα καλῶς ἐδέξαντο καὶ δημοσίᾳ μὲν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
ἀνέδθησαν ὥς ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἔταινιουν
τε καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ. ὁ δὲ τό τε παραντῖκα 2
φυλακὴν τινα αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταλιπὼν διέβη πάλιν καὶ ὕστερον
30 οὐ πολλῷ στρατιὰν πλείω ἐπεραίωσε, βουλόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν

2 Παλλήνῃ E: Πελληνῇ cett.

αὐτῇ codd.

αὐτὸν codd.

τῶν ABF

11 τρέψεσθαι g: τρέψασθαι codd.

15 Παλλήνης E: Πελληνῇ cett.

20 εἰ τεθῆσεται vulgo distinguitur

9 ἀμύνῃ AB E F M

αὐτῷ fg:

12 αὐτὸν g:

post ὑπὸ add.

τῆς τε Μένδης καὶ τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἀποπειρᾶσαι, ἡγούμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθῆσαι ἂν ὥς ἐς ἰήσοι καὶ βουλόμενος φθάσαι· καὶ τι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπράσσετο ἐς τὰς πόλεις ταύτας προδοσίας πέρι.

- 122 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἐγχειρήσειν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις, ἐν 5
 τούτῳ δὲ τριῇρει οἱ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν περιαγγέλλοντες ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτόν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν Ἀριστῶνυμος, Λακε-
 2 δαιμονίων δὲ Ἀθήναιος. καὶ ἡ μὲν στρατιὰ πάλιν διέβη ἐς Τωρώνην, οἱ δὲ τῷ Βρασιῖδᾳ ἀνήγγελλον τὴν ξυνθήκην, καὶ ἐδέξαντο πάντες οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ζύμμαχοι Λακεδαι- 10
 3 μονίων τὰ πεπραγμένα. Ἀριστῶνυμος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κατήνει, Σκιωναίους δὲ αἰσθόμενος ἐκ λογισμοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὅτι ὕστερον ἀφεστήκοιεν, οὐκ ἔφη ἐνσπόνδους ἔσεσθαι. Βρασιῖδας δὲ ἀντέλεγε πολλά, ὥς πρότερον, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίει
 4 τὴν πόλιν. ὥς δ' ἀπήγγελλεν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Ἀριστῶ- 15
 νυμος περὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εὐθὺς ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Σκιώνην. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παραβήσεσθαι ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς τὰς σπονδάς, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀντεποιοῦντο Βρασιῖδᾳ πιστεύοντες, δίκη τε ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν
 5 περὶ αὐτῆς κρίνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δίκη μὲν οὐκ ἤθελον κινδύ- 20
 νεύειν, στρατεύειν δὲ ὥς τάχιστα, ὀργὴν ποιούμενοι εἰ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἤδη ὄντες ἀξιοῦσι σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι, τῇ
 6 κατὰ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίων ἰσχύϊ ἀνωφελεῖ πιστεύοντες. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ἐδικαίουν· δύο γὰρ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέστησαν οἱ 25
 Σκιωναῖοι. ψήφισμά τ' εὐθὺς ἐποίησαντο, Κλέωνος γνώμῃ πεισθέντες, Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ τᾶλλα ἡσυχάζοντες ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευάζοντο.

- 123 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μένδῃ ἀφίσταται αὐτῶν, πόλις ἐν τῇ Παλ-
 λήνῃ, Ἐρετριῶν ἀποικία. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐδέξατο ὁ Βρασιῖδας, 30
 οὐ νομίζων ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ φανερώς προσ-

ἐχώρησάν· ἔστι γὰρ ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνέκαλει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
 παραβαίνειν τὰς σπονδάς. δι' ὃ καὶ οἱ Μενδαῖοι μᾶλλον 2
 ἐτόλμησαν, τὴν τε τοῦ Βρασίδου γνώμην ὀρώντες ἐτοίμην,
 τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκιώνης ὅτι οὐ προϋδίδον, καὶ
 5 ἅμα τῶν πρᾶσσόντων σφίσιν ὀλίγων τε ὄντων καὶ ὥς τότε
 ἐμέλλησαν οὐκέτι ἀνέντων, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς φοβου-
 μένων τὸ κατὰδηλοι καὶ καταβιασασμένων παρὰ γνώμην τοὺς
 πολλούς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι εὐθὺς πυθόμενοι, πολλῶ ἔτι 3
 μᾶλλον ὀργισθέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς
 10 πόλεις. καὶ Βρασίδας προσδεχόμενος τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτῶν 4
 ὑπεκκομίζει ἐς Ὀλυνθοὶ τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας
 τῶν Σκιωναίων καὶ Μενδαίων, καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων
 αὐτοῖς πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας διέπεμψε καὶ πελταστὰς τρια-
 κοσίους Χαλκιδέων, ἄρχοιτά τε τῶν ἀπάντων Πολυδαμίδα.
 15 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὥς ἐν τάχει παρεσομένῳ
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, κοινῇ ἡντρεπίζοντο.

Βρασίδας δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας ἐν τούτῳ στρατεύουσιν ἅμα 124
 ἐπὶ Ἀρραβαῖον τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Λύγκοι. καὶ ἦγον ὁ μὲν
 ὦν ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων
 20 Ἑλλήνων ὀπλίτας, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοῦ περιλοίποις τῶν
 Πελοποννησίων Χαλκιδέας καὶ Ἀκανθίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 κατὰ δύναμιν ἐκάστων. ζύμπαν δὲ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων τρισχίλιοι μάλιστα, ἱππῆς δ' οἱ πάντες ἠκολού-
 θουν Μακεδόνων ξὺν Χαλκιδεῦσιν ὀλίγου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ
 25 ἄλλος ὅμιλος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς. ἐσβαλόντες δὲ ἐς τὴν 2
 Ἀρραβαίου καὶ εὐρόντες ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς
 Λυγκηστὰς ἀντεκαθέζοντο καὶ αὐτοί. καὶ ἐχόντων τῶν μὲν 3
 πεζῶν λόφον ἐκατέρωθεν, πεδίου δὲ τοῦ μέσου ὄντος, οἱ
 ἱππῆς ἐς αὐτὸ καταδραμόντες ἱππομάχησαν πρῶτα ἀμφοτέρωιν,
 30 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ ὁ Περδίκκας, προελθόντων
 προτέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν Λυγκηστῶν

24 ὀλίγου Priscianus : ὀλίγῳ codd.
 Porpo) : αὐτοῖς codd.

26 αὐτοῖς Bekker (tentavit

31 πρότερον A B E F M

- ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων μάχεσθαι, ἀντεπαγαγόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνέβαλον καὶ ἔτρεψαι τοὺς Λυγκηστάς, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαφυγόντες πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα
 4 ἡσύχαζον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τροπαῖον στήσαντες δύο μὲν ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέσχον, τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς μένοντας, οἱ ἔτυχον 5 τῷ Περδίκκᾳ μισθοῦ μέλλοντες ἡξέειν· ἔπειτα ὁ Περδίκκας ἐβούλετο προΐεναι ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀρραβαίου κώμας καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι, Βρασίδης δὲ τῆς τε Μένδης περίορῳμένος, μὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρότερον ἐπιπλευσάντων τι πάθῃ, καὶ ἅμα τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν οὐ παρόντων, οὐ πρόθυμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἀναχωρεῖν 10
 125 μᾶλλον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διαφερομένων αὐτῶν ἡγγέλη ὅτι οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ' Ἀρραβαίου προδόντες Περδίκκᾳ γεγέννηται· ὥστε ἤδη ἀμφοτέροις μὲν δοκοῦν ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ τὸ δέος αὐτῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων μαχίμων, κυρωθὲν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς ὀπηνίκα χρὴ ὀρμᾶσθαι, νυκτός τε ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ 15 μὲν Μακεδόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων εὐθὺς φοβηθείτες, ὅπερ φιλεῖ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἀσαφῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι, καὶ νομίσαντες πολλαπλασίους μὲν ἢ ἦλθον ἐπιέναι, ὅσον δὲ οὐπω παρῆναι, καταστάντες ἐς αἰφνίδιον φυγὴν ἐχώρουν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τὸν Περδίκκᾳ τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ αἰσθα- 20 νόμενον, ὡς ἔγνω, ἠνάγκασαν πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδαν ἰδεῖν (ἄπωθεν
 2 γὰρ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο) προαπελθεῖν. Βρασίδης δὲ ἅμα τῇ ἔφ' ὥς εἶδε τοὺς Μακεδόνας προκεχωρηκότας τοὺς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀρραβαῖον μέλλοντας ἐπιέναι, ξυνα- γαγὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τετράγωνον τάξιν τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ τὸν 25
 3 ψιλὸν ὄμιλον ἐς μέσῳν λαβὼν διενοεῖτο ἀναχωρεῖν. ἐκδρομους δέ, εἴ πῃ προσβάλλοιεν αὐτοῖς, ἔταξε τοὺς νεωτάτους, καὶ αὐτὸς λογάδας ἔχων τριακοσίους τελευταῖος γνώμην εἶχει ὑποχωρῶν τοῖς τῶν ἐναιτιῶν πρώτοις προσκεισομένοις ἀνθ-
 4 ιστάμενος ἀμύνεσθαι. καὶ πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς εἶναι, 30 ὡς διὰ ταχέων παρεκελεύσατο τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιαύδε.

3 διαφυγόντες Meineke: διαφεύγοντες codd.
 σαφῶς cett.

17 ἀσαφῶς fg M:

'Εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑπώπτευον, ἄνδρες Πελοποννησίοι, ὑμᾶς τῷ 126
 τε μεμονώσθαι καὶ ὅτι βάρβαροι οἱ ἐπιόντες καὶ πολλοὶ
 ἔκπληξιν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως διδαχὴν ἅμα τῇ παρακελεύσει
 ἐποιούμην· νῦν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν ἡμετέρων
 5 καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐναντίων βραχεὶ ὑπομνήματι καὶ παραι-
 νέσει τὰ μέγιστα πειράσομαι πείθειν. ἀγαθοῖς γὰρ εἶναι 2
 ὑμῖν προσήκει τὰ πολέμια οὐ διὰ ξυμμάχων παρουσίαν
 ἐκάστοτε, ἀλλὰ δι' οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν, καὶ μηδὲν πλήθος πεφο-
 βῆσθαι ἐτέρων, οἳ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τοιούτων ἦκετε,
 10 ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλεόνων
 μᾶλλον ἐλάσσους, οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν δυναστείαν
 ἢ τῷ μαχόμενοι κρατεῖν. βαρβάρους δὲ οὓς νῦν ἀπειρία 3
 δέδοτε μαθεῖν χρή, ἐξ ὧν τε προηγώνισθε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀκοῇ ἐπίσταμαι,
 15 οὐ δεινοὺς ἐσομένους. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα μὲν τῷ ὄντι ἀσθειῇ 4
 ὄντα τῶν πολεμίων δόκησιν ἔχει ἰσχύος, διδαχὴ ἀληθοῦς
 προσγενομένη περὶ αὐτῶν ἐθάρσυνε μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀμυνομέ-
 νους· οἷς δὲ βεβαίως τι πρόσσεστιν ἀγαθόν, μὴ προειδώς
 τις ἂν αὐτοῖς τολμηρότερον προσφέροιτο. οὗτοι δὲ τὴν 5
 20 μέλλησιν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀπείροις φοβερὰν· καὶ γὰρ πλήθει
 ὄψεως δεινοὶ καὶ βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι, ἢ τε διὰ κενῆς
 ἐπανάσεις τῶν ὅπλων ἔχει τινὰ δῆλωσιν ἀπειλῆς. προσ-
 μείζαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὰ οὐχ ὁμοῖοι· οὔτε γὰρ
 τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἂν λιπεῖν τινὰ χώραν βιαζόμενοι
 25 ἢ τε φυγὴ καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἴσην ἔχουσα δόξαν τοῦ
 καλοῦ ἀνεξέλεγκτον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἔχει (αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ
 μάχη μάλιστ' ἂν καὶ πρόφασιν τοῦ σφῆζεσθαι τινι πρε-
 πόντως πορίσειε), τοῦ τε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ
 30 τούτου ἐχρῶντο. σαφῶς τε πᾶν τὸ προϋπάρχον δεινὸν ἀπ' 6
 αὐτῶν ὁρᾷτε ἔργῳ μὲν βραχὺ ὄν, ὄψει δὲ καὶ ἀκοῇ κατα-

10 οὐ secl. Stephanus
 βῆσαι Torstrik : ἐκφοβήσειν codd.

14 εἰκάζω M : εἰκάζων cett.

29 ἐκφο-

σπέρχον. ὁ ὑπομείναντες ἐπιφερόμενοι καί, ὅταν καιρὸς ᾗ, κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει αὐθις ὑπαγαγόντες, ἕς τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς θάσπον ἀφίξεσθε καὶ γνώσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄχλοι τοῖς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις ἄπωθεν ἀπειλαῖς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μελλήσῃ ἐπικομποῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἂν εἴξωσιν 5 αὐτοῖς, κατὰ πόδας τὸ εὐψυχον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὀξεῖς ἐνδείκνυνται.'

- 127 Τοιαῦτα ὁ Βρασίδας παραιέσας ὑπήγε τὸ στράτευμα. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες πολλῇ βοῇ καὶ θορύβῳ προσέκειντο, νομίσαντες φεύγειν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβόντες διαφθερεῖν. 10
2 καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς αἶ τε ἐκδρομαὶ ὅπῃ προσπίπτοιεν ἀπήντων καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων τοὺς λογάδας ἐπικειμένους ὑφίστατο, τῇ τε πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ παρὰ γνώμην ἀντέστησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιφερομένους μὲν δεχόμενοι ἡμύνοντο, ἡσυχάζοντων δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπεχώρουν, τότε δὴ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Βρασίδου Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῇ 15 εὐρυχωρίᾳ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέσχοντο, μέρος δέ τι καταλιπόντες αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθοῦν προσβάλλειν, οἱ λοιποὶ χωρήσαντες ὁρόμῳ ἐπὶ τε τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Μακεδόνων οἷς ἐντύχοιεν ἔκτεινον καὶ τὴν ἐσβολήν, ἣ ἐστι μεταξὺ δυοῖν λόφου στεινὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀρραβαίου, φθάσαντες προκατέλαβον, 20 εἰδότες οὐκ οὔσαν ἄλλην τῷ Βρασίδᾳ ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ προσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς αὐτὸ ἤδη τὸ ἄπορον τῆς ὁδοῦ κυκλοῦνται
128 ὡς ἀποληψόμενοι. ὁ δὲ γινοὺς προεῖπε τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ τριακοσίοις, ὃν ᾤετο μᾶλλον ἂν ἐλεῖν τῶν λόφων, χωρήσαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρόμῳ, ὡς τάχιστα ἕκαστος δύναται, 25 ἄνευ τάξεως, πειράσασθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκκροῦσαι τοὺς ἤδη ἐποίτας βαρβάρους, πρὶν καὶ τὴν πλείονα κύκλωσιν σφῶν αὐτόσε
2 προσμείξαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν προσπεσόντες ἐκράτησάν τε τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, καὶ ἡ πλείων ἤδη στρατιὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥᾶσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπορεύοντο· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν, 30 τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα γεινομένης σφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρων,

10 διαφθερεῖν Cobet : διαφθείρειν codd. 23 μετ' αὐτοῦ A B E F G¹ M
26 ἐπόντας Porpo : ἐπιόντας codd.

- καὶ ἐς τὸ πλεόν οὐκέτ' ἐπηκολούθουν, νομίζοντες καὶ ἐν με-
 θορίοις εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἤδη καὶ διαπεφευγέναι. Βρασίδης δὲ 3
 ὡς ἀντελάβετο τῶν μετεώρων, κατὰ ἀσφάλειαν μᾶλλον ἰὼν
 αὐθημερὸν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἀρρισαν πρῶτον τῆς Περδίκκου
 5 ἀρχῆς. καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀργιζόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ προανα- 4
 χωρήσει τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσοις ἐνέτυχον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
 ζεύγεσιν αὐτῶν βοεικοῖς ἢ εἴ τιμι σκευεὶ ἐκπεπτωκότι, οἷα
 ἐν νυκτερινῇ καὶ φοβερᾷ ἀναχωρήσει εἰκὸς ἦν ζυμῶναι,
 τὰ μὲν ὑπολύοντες κατέκοπτον, τῶν δὲ οἰκείωσιν ἐποιούντο.
 10 ἀπὸ τούτου τε πρῶτον Περδίκκας Βρασίδαν τε πολέμιον 5
 ἐνόμισε καὶ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν Πελοποννησίων τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ
 δι' Ἀθηναίους οὐ ζήτηθες μῖσος εἶχε, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων
 ζυμφόρων διαναστὰς ἔπρασεν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τάχιστα τοῖς μὲν
 ζυμβήσεται, τῶν δὲ ἀπαλλάξεται.
 15 Βρασίδης δὲ ἀναχωρήσας ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐς Τωρώνην 129
 καταλαμβάνει Ἀθηναίους Μένδην ἤδη ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἡσυχάζων ἐς μὲν τὴν Παλλήνην ἀδύνατος ἤδη ἐνόμιζεν
 εἶναι διαβὰς τιμωρεῖν, τὴν δὲ Τωρώνην ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν.
 ὑπὸ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Λύγκῳ ἐξέπλευσαι 2
 20 ἐπὶ τε τὴν Μένδην καὶ τὴν Σκιώην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ
 παρεσκευάζοντο, ναυσὶ μὲν πεντήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν δέκα Χῆαι,
 ὀπλίταις δὲ χιλίοις ἐαυτῶν καὶ τοξόταις ἐξακοσίοις καὶ
 Θραξὶ μισθωτοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν αὐτόθεν ζυμμάχων
 πελτασταῖς· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Νικό-
 25 στρατος ὁ Διειτρέφους. ἄραυτες δὲ ἐκ Ποτειδαίας ταῖς 3
 ναυσὶ καὶ σχόντες κατὰ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον ἐχώρουν ἐς τοὺς
 Μειδαίους. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Σκιωναίων τριακόσιοι
 βεβοηθηκότες Πελοποννησίων τε οἱ ἐπίκουροι, ζύμπαντες
 [δὲ] ἑπτακόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Πολυδαμίδας ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν,
 30 ἔτυχον ἐξεστρατοπεδευμένοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ λόφου
 καρτεροῦ. καὶ αὐτοῖς Νικίας μὲν Μεθωναίους τε ἔχων 4

12 τῷ δὲ ἀναγκαίῳ ζυμφόρῳ διαστὰς Madvig
 cett. 29 δὲ secl. Krüger

18 δὲ c F¹ M: om.

εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ψιλούς καὶ λογάδας τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ὀπλιτῶν ἐξήκοιτα καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἅπαντας κατὰ ἀτραπὸν
 τινα τοῦ λόφου πειρώμενος προσβῆναι καὶ τραυματιζόμενος
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη βιάσασθαι. Νικόστρατος δὲ ἄλλῃ
 ἐφόδῳ ἐκ πλέονος παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιὼν τῷ 5
 λόφῳ ὄντι δυσπροσβάτῳ καὶ πάνυ ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ ἐς ὀλίγον
 5 ἀφίκετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων νικηθῆναι. καὶ
 ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν οἱ Μενδαῖοι καὶ οἱ
 ξύμμαχοι, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο,
 καὶ οἱ Μενδαῖοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλθον. 10
 130 τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι περιπλεύσαντες ἐς τὸ πρὸς
 Σκιώνης τό τε προάστειον εἶλον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἅπασαν
 ἐδῆρουν τὴν γῆν οὐδενὸς ἐπεξιόντος (ἦν γάρ τι καὶ στα-
 σιασμοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει), οἱ δὲ τριακόσιοι τῶν Σκιωναίων τῆς
 2 ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένῃ 15
 ἡμέρᾳ Νικίας μὲν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ στρατοῦ προῖων ἅμα ἐς τὰ
 μεθόρια τῶν Σκιωναίων τὴν γῆν ἐδῆρουν, Νικόστρατος δὲ τοῖς
 λοιποῖς κατὰ τὰς ἄνω πύλας, ἣ ἐπὶ Ποτειδαίας ἔρχονται,
 3 προσεκάθητο τῇ πόλει. ὁ δὲ Πολυδαμίδας (ἔτυχε γὰρ ταύτῃ
 τοῖς Μενδαίοις καὶ ἐπικούροις ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τὰ ὄπλα 20
 κείμενα) διατάσσει τε ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ παρῆναι τοῖς Μεν-
 4 δαίοις ἐπεξιέναι. καὶ τινος αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου
 ἀντειπόντος κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέξεισιν οὐδὲ
 δέοιτο πολεμεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἀντεῖπεν ἐπισπασθέντος τε τῇ χειρὶ
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θορυβηθέντος, ὁ δῆμος εὐθὺς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ 25
 ὄπλα περιοργῆς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τε Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς
 5 τὰ ἐναντία σφίσι μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντας. καὶ προσπεσόντες
 τρέπουσιν ἅμα μὲν μάχῃ αἰφνιδίῳ, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
 τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων φοβηθέντων· ῥῆθησαν γὰρ ἀπὸ
 6 προειρημένου τινὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν γενέσθαι. καὶ 30
 οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὅσοι μὴ αὐτίκα διεφθάρησαν,
 κατέφυγον, ἦνπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον αὐτοὶ εἶχον· οἱ δὲ Ἀθη-

ραῖοι (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Νικίας ἐπαιαστρέψας πρὸς τῇ πόλει
 ἦν) ἐσπεσόντες ἐς τὴν Μένδην πόλιν, ἅτε οὐκ ἀπὸ ξυμ-
 βάσεως ἀνοιχθεῖσιν, ἀπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὡς κατὰ κράτος
 ἐλόντες διήρπασαν, καὶ μόλις οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατέσχον ὥστε
 5 μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διαφθεῖρεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Μεν- 7
 δαίους μετὰ ταῦτα πολιτεύειν ἐκέλευον ὥσπερ εἰώθειςαν,
 αὐτοὺς κρίναντας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἴ τινας ἡγοῦνται αἰτίους
 εἶναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀπετείχισαν
 ἐκατέρωθεν τείχει ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπικαθίσταντο.
 10 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Μένδην κατέσχοι, ἐπὶ τὴν Σκιώνην
 ἐχώρουν. οἱ δὲ ἀντεπεξεληθότες αὐτοὶ καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι 131
 ἰδρῦθησαν ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃν εἰ μὴ
 ἔλοιεν οἱ ἐναντίοι, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο σφῶν περιτείχισις. προσ- 2
 βαλόντες δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μάχῃ
 15 ἐκκρούσαντες τοὺς ἐπόντας ἐστρατοπεδεύσαιτό τε καὶ ἐς
 τὸν περιτειχισμὸν τροπαῖον στήσαντες παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ 3
 αὐτῶν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἤδη ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντων οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρο-
 πόλεως ἐν τῇ Μένδῃ πολιορκούμενοι ἐπίκουροι βιασάμενοι
 παρὰ θάλασσαν τὴν φυλακὴν νυκτὸς ἀφικνοῦνται, καὶ δια-
 20 φνυγόντες οἱ πλείστοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιώνῃ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλθον
 ἐς αὐτήν.

Περιτειχιζομένης δὲ τῆς Σκιώνης Περόικκας τοῖς τῶν 132
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος ὁμολογίαν ποι-
 εῖται πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρασίδου ἔχθραν
 25 περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῆς Λύγκου ἀναχωρήσεως, εὐθύς τότε ἀρξάμενος
 πρᾶσσειν. καὶ (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τότε Ἰσχαγόρας ὁ Λακεδαι- 2
 μόνιος στρατιᾶν μέλλων περὶ πορεύσειν ὡς Βρασίδαν) ὁ [δὲ]
 Περόικκας, ἅμα μὲν κελεύοντος τοῦ Νικίου, ἐπειδὴ ξυνε-
 βέβηκει, ἐνδηλὸν τι ποιεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις βεβαιότητος πέρι,
 30 ἅμα δ' αὐτὸς οὐκέτι βουλόμενος Πελοποννησίου ἐς τὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἀφικνεῖσθαι, παρασκευάσας τοὺς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ξείνους,

2 Μένδην. secl. Dobrec 7 κρίναντας F¹ G : κρίναντες. cett.
 9 ἐπικαθίσταντο Porro : ἐπεκαθίσαντο codd. 15 ἐπόντας Dobrec :
 ἐπιόντας codd. 19 διαφύγοντες A B E F M 27 δὲ secl. Dobrec

χρώμενος αἰεὶ τοῖς πρώτοις, διεκώλυσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὴν
 3 παρασκευήν, ὥστε μὴδὲ πειρᾶσθαι Θεσσαλῶν. Ἰσχαγόρας
 μέντοι καὶ Ἀμεινίας καὶ Ἀριστεὺς αὐτοὶ τε ὥς Βρασίδαν
 ἀφίκοντο, ἐπιδεῖν πεμψάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ πράγματα,
 καὶ τῶν ἡβώντων αὐτῶν παρανόμως ἄνδρας ἐξῆγον ἐκ 5
 Σπάρτης, ὥστε τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας καθιστάναι καὶ μὴ τοῖς
 ἐντυχοῦσιν ἐπιτρέπειν. καὶ Κλεαρίδαν μὲν τὸν Κλεωνύμου
 καθίστησιν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, Πασιτελίδαν δὲ τὸν Ἰγησάνδρου
 ἐν Τορώνῃ.

133 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει Θηβαῖοι Θεσπιῶν τεῖχος περιεῖλον 10
 ἐπικαλέσαντες ἄττικισμὸν, βουλόμενοι μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ, παρε-
 σχηκὸς δὲ ῥᾶον ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μάχῃ ὅτι
 2 ἦν αὐτῶν ἄνθος ἀπωλώλει. καὶ ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἥρας τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐν Ἀργεὶ κατεκαύθη, Χρυσίδος τῆς ἱερείας
 λύχνοι· τινὰ θείσης ἡμμένοι πρὸς τὰ στέμματα καὶ ἐπι- 15
 καταδαρθούσης, ὥστε ἔλαθεν ἀφθέντα πάντα καὶ κατα-
 3 φλεχθέντα. καὶ ἡ Χρυσὶς μὲν εὐθύς τῆς νυκτὸς δέισασα
 τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἐς Φλειοῦντα φεύγει· οἱ δὲ ἄλλην ἱέρειαν
 ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ προκειμένου κατεστήσαντο Φαινίδα ὄνομα.
 ἔτη δὲ ἡ Χρυσὶς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτὼ καὶ 20
 4 ἑξάτον ἐκ μέσον, ὅτε ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ ἡ Σκιώνη τοῦ θέρους
 ἤδη τελευτῶντος περιετετείχιστό τε παντελῶς, καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ ἄλλῳ
 στρατῷ.

134 Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιόντι χειμῶνι τὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακε- 25
 δαιμονίων ἡσύχαζε διὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, Μαντινῆς δὲ καὶ
 Τεγεᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐκατέρων ξυνέβαλον ἐν Λαοδοκείῳ
 τῆς Ὀρεσθίδος, καὶ νίκη ἀμφιδήριτος ἐγένετο· κέρας γὰρ
 ἐκάτεροι τρέψαντες τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς τροπαῖά τε ἀμφότεροι
 2 ἔστησαν καὶ σκῦλα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν. διαφθαρέντων 30

5 αὐτῷ Stahl 8 Πασιτελίδαν Dobree: Ἐπιτελίδαν codd.
 11 παρεσχηκὸς Krüger: παρεστηκὸς codd. 13 ἀπωλώλει] διε-
 φθάρη M 20 ἡ B: om. cett. 27 Λαοδοκείῳ Bursian: Λαοδικίῳ
 codd.

μέντοι πολλῶν ἑκατέροις καὶ ἀγχωμάτων τῆς μάχης γενο-
μένης καὶ ἀφελομένης νυκτὸς τὸ ἔργον οἱ Τεγεᾶται μὲν
ἐπηυλίσαντό τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔστησαν τροπαῖον, Μαιτιυῆς δὲ
ἀπεχώρησάν τε ἐς Βουκολιῶνα καὶ ὕστερον ἀντέστησαν.

- 5 Ἀπεπείρασε δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὁ Βρασιῖδας 135
τελευτῶντος καὶ πρὸς ἑαρ ἥδη Ποτειδαίας. προσελθὼν
γὰρ νυκτὸς καὶ κλίμακα προσθεὶς μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔλαθει·
τοῦ γὰρ κώδωνος παρενεχθέντος οὕτως ἐς τὸ διάκειναι, πρὶν
ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν παραδιδόντα αὐτόν, ἢ πρόσθεσις ἐγένετο·
10 ἔπειτα μέντοι εὐθὺς αἰσθομένων, πρὶν προσζῆναι, ἀπήγαγε
πάλιν κατὰ τάχος τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν ἡμέραν
γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἔϊατον ἔτος τῷ 2
πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

In fine libri quarti τῶν ἐς ιγ τέλος τῆς ζ C

BOOK IV

I *Messene, aided by a Syracusan and Locrian squadron, revolts from Athens. The Locrian army invades the territory of Rhegium.*

I τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρου: Thucydides divides the year into two seasons, θέρος and χειμών, the former being the period of about eight months (March to November) favourable for campaigning, the latter comprising 'the four winter months' (μηνῶν τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν, vi. 21. 2). His θέρος thus includes spring and autumn as well as summer; cp. iv. 2. i ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἤρος, and ii. 31. i περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρου τούτου. The lack of uniformity in the calendar in Greece would have made it extremely awkward for him to date events by the *months* in which they occurred: the months had different names in different states, and besides an Attic month did not necessarily begin on the same day of the year as a Spartan month. The chronology of Thucydides is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xiv-xvii.

περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν: 'about the time when the corn comes into ear,' i. e. probably in April.

Συρακοσίων: Syracuse and all the other Dorian cities in Sicily (except Camarina), together with Locri in Italy, were leagued against Leontini and the other Chalcidian (Ionian) cities, together with Rhegium in Italy (iii. 86).

πλεύσασαι: 'having put to sea' from the harbour of Syracuse.

Λοκρίδες: belonging to Locri Epizephyrii, on the south-eastern side of the great projection at the 'toe' of Italy.

ἴσαι: *totidem*.

Μεσσήνην τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ: so called to distinguish it from the district of Μεσσήνη or Μεσσηνία in Peloponnesus. It was originally a Chalcidian colony with the Sicel name of Ζάγκλη, the site being shaped like a sickle (ζάγκλον); but early in the fifth century a mixed population was introduced by Anaxilas, despot of Rhegium, who

changed the name of the city to *Μεσσήνη* in honour of his native district (vi. 4. 5 and 6). Messene had been forced to come to terms with Athens in the previous summer (iii. 90. 4).

αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγομένων : 'at the invitation of (the Messenians) themselves.' The middle voice is used of the inhabitants bringing in others to their aid.

- 2 *μάλιστα* : 'principally' from the motives which Thucydides proceeds to indicate.

προσβολὴν ἔχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς Σικελίας : 'that the position afforded an approach to Sicily,' i. e. because of its excellent harbour it would be a good base for naval operations against other parts of the island. With *προσβολή* cp. *προσβίλλω*, used of ships 'putting in' to a port.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀρμώμενοι : 'making it their base of operations.'

ἀμφοτέρωθεν : i. e. both from land and from sea.

- 3 *ἅμα* : i. e. at the same time as the Syracusan fleet put to sea.

ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις : obviously the Rhegians might not be aware of the invitation given by the Messenians to the Syracusans and Locrians, and might imagine that their aid would be welcome.

ἅμα δὲ καί : these words have no connexion with *ἅμα* in line 9 ; they couple the genitive absolute with the final clause—a variation in structure characteristic of Thucydides.

ἔννεπαγόντων : the active voice is used of the exiles outside their city bringing others against it ; contrast *ἐπαγαγομένων* in § 1.

ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐστασίαζε : the imperfect is used, as with *πάλλαι*, of an action continued in the past from a more remote past ; 'was, and had long been, distracted by faction.'

ἰδύνατα ἦν . . . ἀμύνεσθαι : in impersonal expressions a neuter adjective (especially the verbal in *-τέος*) is often put in the plural instead of the singular. The usage is rare in Attic prose apart from Thucydides.

ἦ : 'wherefore.'

- 4 *ἄλλαι αἱ πληρούμεναι* : 'others, i. e. those that were being manned'. But *αἱ* may be due to repetition of the final letters of *ἄλλαι* ; with this omission the sense is 'others, now being manned'.

ἔμελλον : 'were intended.'

αὐτόσε : not *αὐτοῦ*, because previous motion is implied in *ἐγκαθορμισάμεναι*.

- 2 *The Peloponnesians invade Attica. The Athenians dispatch a fleet to Sicily, with instructions to aid the democratic party at Corcyra, whither a Peloponnesian fleet has sailed to help the oligarchs.*

1 τοῦ ἥρος : see note on I. I.

πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι : 'before the corn was ripe'; cp. τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος, 6. I. Harvest in Attica takes place in May or June.

Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι : so the confederacy is regularly designated, not Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι.

ἐσίβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν : this was the fifth invasion of Attica, in the seventh year of the war. The two blank years were 429, when the confederates were occupied with the siege of Plataea, and 426, when they turned back at the Isthmus of Corinth owing to earthquakes.

ἡγήτο δὲ Ἄγισ ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου : Agis had succeeded his father in 427, and had commanded the abortive expedition of the previous year.

ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν : 'they ravaged the country, encamping the while in one spot after another.' Note the present participle, which denotes the coincidence of the two actions; cp. ἀναδούμενοι εἶλκον, I4. I.

- 2 τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς : these ships had been manned at the request of the Sicilian allies of Athens (iii. 115. 4). Of the three commanders, Pythodorus had gone in advance with a few ships, and Eurymedon and Sophocles now follow with the forty. *Pythodorus* was Archon at the outbreak of the war, and was amongst those who swore to the Peace of Nicias. *Eurymedon* afterwards shared with Demosthenes the command of the second fleet sent to Syracuse, where he fell in one of the battles in the harbour. *Sophocles* is known only in connexion with the events of this year.

- 3 εἶπον δὲ τοῦτοῖς : i.e. they gave them instructions by a decree of the ἐκκλησία.

Κερκυραίων . . . τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει : these were the democratic party ; τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει φυγάντων were the oligarchs who had survived the massacre of 427 B.C. The latter, about 500 in number, with 100 auxiliaries, had taken up a strong position on Mount Istone (about

ten miles north of the city), from whence they harassed their enemies.

παρὰπλέοντας: the participle, instead of being in the dative with **τούτοις**, agrees with the unexpressed subject of the infinitive **ἐπιμεληθῆναι**.

νομίζοντες: masculine, as though **Πελοποννησίοι** had preceded instead of **Πελοποννησίων νῆες**.

κατασχέσιν . . . τὰ πράγματα: 'that they would make themselves masters of the situation.'

- 4 **Δημοσθένι δὲ ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ**: as one of the ten **στρατηγοί** of the previous year he had met with brilliant success in Acarnania; he was now 'out of office'.

αὐτῷ δεηθέντι: 'at his own request.'

3-5 *The Athenian fleet is detained by stormy weather at Pylos, where a fort is built at the suggestion of Demosthenes. He remains there with five ships, while the rest of the fleet sails for Corcyra.*

- 3 I **πλέοντες**: 'in the course of their voyage.'

κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν: 'off the coast of the Laconian territory,' which included Messenia as well as Laconia proper.

ἡπείγοντο: imperfect of endeavour, 'were for pushing on.'

εἰς τὴν Πύλον . . . ἐκέλευε σχόντας αἰτούς καὶ πράξαντας ἃ δέ τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι: for the topography of Pylos see the Appendix. The emphasis, as often, is on the participles, not on the infinitive; 'urged them to put in at Pylos and do what was necessary before continuing their voyage.' **σχεῖν** with **εἰς** and acc. means 'to stop a ship and bring it into harbour'. With **δεῖ** (present tense retained from oratio recta) supply **πρᾶξαι**, lit. 'what it is necessary to do' (in order to make the position defensible).

ἀντιλεγόντων: sc. **τῶν στρατηγῶν**. The noun in the genitive absolute construction has often to be supplied from the context.

κατήνεγκε: the preposition **κατά** in several compounds indicates approach to the coast, either (as here) from the sea, or (as **καταβάνας**, 15. 1) from the interior.

- 2 **τειχίζεσθαι**: probably middle, not passive; cp. **ἐκέλευε . . . ποιεῖσθαι** in § 1.

ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνεκπλεῦσαι: 'this (he said) was his object in joining the expedition.' The infinitive depends on ἔφη, which can readily be supplied from ἡξίου. With the other reading, ξυνέπλευσε, the sentence is an explanation by the historian.

ἀπέβαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν: sc. οὔσαν.

αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας: 'both the position itself and a large part of the adjoining district.' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας is virtually a substantive in the accusative case, parallel to αὐτό; cp. ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς δόξης, 12. 3, and ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλον ξύλου, 100. 2.

ἀπέχει γὰρ . . . γῆ: this sentence is explanatory of ἐρήμων: the place was uninhabited because (1) it was a long way from Sparta, and (2) it was in the Messenian country, which had lost a large part of its population by emigration to Naupactus (i. 103).

μάλιστα: with numerals, 'about.'

ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔση γῆ: 'in what was once the Messenian territory,' but had long ago been annexed to Laconia proper. The tense of the participle is here imperfect, not present.

Κορυφάσιον: a diminutive of κορυφή, 'Little Head.'

- 3 ἦν βούληται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν: 'if he wished to put the city to expense by occupying them.' This interpretation of δαπανᾶν is given by the Scholia and Suidas, and makes excellent sense; but no parallel is quoted. (Late writers, Appian and Plutarch, use the word in the sense of 'exhaust', 'wear away', 'destroy'.) Other suggestions are: (1) to render 'if by occupying them he wished the city to incur expense'—an illogical expression; (2) to omit either καταλαμβάνων or τὴν πόλιν as an interpolation, and take δαπανᾶν in its usual meaning.

διάφορόν τι . . . ἑτέρου μᾶλλον: 'a position of special importance,' lit. 'something important, more so than (any) other'. Cp. παντὸς μᾶλλον, 'most assuredly.'

λιμένος τε προσόντος καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους . . . πλείστ' ἂν βλέπειν: the construction is changed from the genitive absolute to the accus. and infin., as though the latter had a verb of thinking to depend upon. The Messenians are those Helots and Perioeci who, at the end of the revolt known as the Third Messenian War (464-455 B.C.), had been settled by the Athenians at Naupactus, which they had lately taken from the Ozolian Locrians (Thuc. i.

102, 103). It commanded the Corinthian Gulf, and had been Demosthenes' base of operations against the Aetolians in 426.

οἰκείους ἔντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον : 'who were of old connected with it.'

ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις : the Messenians are described as Δωρίδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντας, iii. 112. 4. Their dialect is very imperfectly known from inscriptions ; but one point in which Messenian Doric differed from Laconian Doric was in the third person plural of verbs, e. g. Messenian προτιθῆντι, Laconian προτιθῶντι, Attic προτιθῶσι.

4 I οὐκ ἔπειθεν : 'he was making no impression on them' by his repeated arguments.

ἕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας : ten taxiarchs were elected annually at Athens, to command the contingents (τάξεις) of infantry furnished by the ten tribes ; in vii. 60. 2, they form with the στρατηγοὶ a council of war. On the present occasion, when there were only a few marines on each ship, they were acting as lieutenants of the στρατηγοὶ. The words ἕστερον . . . κοινώσας are generally taken closely with τοὺς στρατιώτας, and the explanation given is that Demosthenes, having failed to convince the generals, subsequently approached the rank and file *through the medium of the taxiarchs*, but met with no better success. But the form of the sentence is against this, and why should Demosthenes not have addressed himself to the soldiers personally ? The meaning rather seems to be that after Demosthenes had failed to influence either the generals or the soldiers, he, as a last resource, 'imparted his design' to the taxiarchs, in the hope that they would be able to persuade their men.

ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας : i. e. Demosthenes ceased his efforts because the weather prevented the fleet from sailing (and he thought that the men would soon tire of doing nothing and would change their minds). There is no need to alter to ἡσύχαζον, and it is very harsh to put a comma after ἡσύχαζεν and join ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας with σχολάζουσιν.

αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις : the soldiers themselves, without orders from their superiors.

ἐνέπεσε : this compound is used by Thucydides in several passages (e. g. iv. 34. 2) of feelings or emotions entering the mind. The good MSS. all have ἐσέπεσε, but there is no parallel for such a use of that verb.

περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον: 'to take their stand round the position and fortify it thoroughly.'

- 2 λογάδην: 'as they picked them out,' i. e. in their natural state, as opposed to hewn stones.

ὡς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνει: 'as each fitted.' The optative in the subordinate clause expresses indefinite frequency, as the imperf. indic. does in the principal clause; similarly δέοι, μέλλοι.

- 3 παντί τε τρόπῳ: Thucydides regularly uses τε (not δέ) with expressions which sum up what has preceded; so with ἀπλῶς, ξυνελών, τὸ ξύμπαν.

αὐτὸ καρτερόν ὑπήρχε: 'was naturally strong.' αὐτό means 'without artificial aid'; cp. φύσει καρτερόν ὄν, 3. 2.

- 5 I οἱ δὲ ἑορτήν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες: 'they were just then celebrating a festival,' ἔτυχον denoting a coincidence. Of the importance attached by the Spartans to their festivals Herodotus gives two striking instances: the Κάρνεια prevented them from sending a larger force to Thermopylae (vii. 206), and the occurrence of the Ὑακίνθια was one reason for their delay in entering Boeotia to aid Athens against Mardonius (ix. 7, where he adds περὶ πλείστου ὁ ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν).

ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο: 'they made light of it'; lit. 'regarded it in a contemptuous mood'.

ὡς... οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντας σφᾶς: 'in the belief that (the Athenians) would not resist them.' The accusative absolute, which is the regular construction in the case of participles of impersonal verbs, is sometimes found with the participles of personal verbs, especially if these are preceded by ὡς or ὥσπερ: cp. Dem. *de Symm.* 15 ἀπεβλέψατ' εἰς ἀλλήλους ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα.

ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὢν: 'the fact that their army was still in Athenian territory.' ἐν = 'in the neighbourhood of'; cp. τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, 8. 2.

- 2 ἃ μάλιστα ἔδει: sc. τειχίζειν.

τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν: = τὸν ἐς τὴν Κ. καὶ Σ. πλοῦν.

- 6 *The Peloponnesian army returns from Attica.*

- I ὡς ἐπύθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης: this is the only instance in

Thucydides of the genitive with *πυνθάνομαι*, denoting the person or thing heard of; elsewhere he always uses the accusative.

νομίζοντες μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: nominative in apposition to *οἱ...* *Πελοποννήσιοι*. After the clause *νομίζοντες...* *Πύλον* we should expect another participle with *δέ* to indicate the motive of the non-Spartan contingents; instead of this the construction is altered to two finite verbs, *ἐσπάνιζον* and *ἐπίεσε*.

οἰκείον σφίσι τὸ περὶ τὴν Πύλον: 'that the state of things at Pylos concerned them closely.'

πρῶ: 'early in the year.' The invasions of 431 and 428 took place when the corn was ripe (*τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος*, ii. 19. 1; *ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι*, iii. 1. 1).

ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς: the dative goes closely with *τροφῆς*. By *τοῖς πολλοῖς* may be meant either the majority of the contingents, or the rank and file as opposed to the officers.

μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν: 'unusually severe for the time of year,' lit. 'more severe, beyond (what might have been expected at) the existing season'. *παρά* after a comparative = ἢ *κατά*.

2 *πολλαχόθεν*: 'for several reasons,' referring to the three just given.

βραχυτάτην γενέσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην: the longest invasion was the second, which lasted about forty days (ii. 57. 2).

7 *Eion is betrayed to the Athenians, but they are driven out by the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans.*

Ἡίονα τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκης: the precise situation of this place is unknown; it cannot be the town at the mouth of the Strymon, which had long been in the possession of Athens. *ἐπὶ Θ.* = 'in the direction of Thrace'; cp. *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, the common designation of the sea-board between the Thermaic Gulf and the Hebrus.

Μενδαίων ἀποικίαν, πολεμίαν δὲ οὔσαν: Mende, in Pallene (the western of the three promontories of Chalcidice), was an ally of Athens (c. 123. 1), and its colony Eion might have been expected to follow the same policy.

τῶν φρουρίων: the Athenian garrisons in the towns on the sea-board of Thrace.

ἐκείνη: adverb.

προδομένην: 'by the aid of treachery.'

Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων: the former were the inhabitants of Chalcidice, the peninsula so called from the number of colonies founded in it by Chalcis in Euboea; the Bottiaeans were a Thracian people who had formerly dwelt between the Axios and the Haliacmon, and, being expelled by the Macedonians, settled near Olynthus.

8 *The Spartiatae and some of the Perioeci march to Pylos, and the Peloponnesian fleet is recalled from Corcyra. Demosthenes sends two ships to recall the Athenian fleet off Zacynthus. The Spartans intend to block the entrances to the harbour, and they occupy Sphacteria with a force of hoplites and Helots.*

1 ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Πελοποννησίων: ἐκ τῆς Ἀ. is substituted for ἐν τῇ Ἀ. under the influence of the verb of motion.

οἱ Σπαρτιάται: the dominant class, who alone had political rights; whereas οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι includes the Perioeci also.

οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιόικων: i.e. those whose homes were nearest to Pylos, or to Sparta. The Perioeci had no political rights, but were personally free, and formed an important part of the army.

2 ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ ναῦς σφῶν τὰς ἐξήκοντα: cp. 2. 3. ἐπὶ means 'to fetch'.

ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμόν: Leucas was originally connected with the mainland of Acarnania by a narrow neck of land, through which the Corinthians had cut a canal. But this had been choked by sand, and it remained in that condition till the passage was again opened by the Romans. The ships were dragged across the isthmus, doubtless with the aid of rollers, thus shortening the passage considerably. Similarly, a Spartan fleet was transported across the Isthmus of Corinth (viii. 7 and 8).

τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς: i.e. the fleet of Eurymedon on its way to Corcyra (5. 2). Zacynthus is about seventy miles from Pylos. For ἐν, see note on 5. 1.

ὁ πεζὸς στρατός: i.e. the Spartiatae and the nearest of the Perioeci, and perhaps also some of 'the other Lacedaemonians' (§ 1). The arrival of the other Peloponnesians is mentioned in 14. 5.

3 ὥς τοῦ χωρίου κινδυνεύοντος: 'as the place was in danger.' ὥς shows that this was the opinion of Demosthenes.

- 4 αἱ μὲν νῆες: this refers probably to the two ships sent by Demosthenes, not to the fleet of Eurymedon.

οἰκοδόμημα is used, like οἰκοδομέω, of any structure.

ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων: 'garrisoned by a handful of men.'

The genitive absolute is virtually an attribute of οἰκοδόμημα.

- 5 ἦν ἄρα: 'if after all,' 'if, as might possibly be the case.'

ἦ = παρῇ, 'it might be possible.'

- 6 ἡ γὰρ νήσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη: see Appendix.

ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη: 'lying not far off the coast'; cp. 44. 6 ἐς τὰς ἐπικειμένας νήσους.

τῇ μὲν... τῇ δέ: 'at one point... at another point.'

δυοῖν νεοῖν διάπλουν: 'a passage for two ships (rowing abreast).'

διάπλουν is in apposition to τοὺς ἔσπλους.

ἐκτὼ ἡ ἐννέα: sc. νεῶν διάπλουν.

μέγεθος: 'in length.'

περὶ πέντε καὶ δέκα σταδίου μάλιστα: both περὶ and μάλιστα indicate that the calculation is a rough one. See the Appendix.

- 7 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντιπώροις: the ships were to be placed side by side, with their bows facing any one approaching the entrance. Ships placed *end to end* are described as πλάγμαι (vii. 59. 3).

τὴν δὲ νήσον ταύτην φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς... ποιῶνται: here the acc. anticipates, not the subject of the dependent clause (as it usually does, e. g. i. 2), but an oblique case with a preposition.

παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον: i. e. along the shore of the bay.

- 8 ἴσασθαι... ἔξιν... ἐκπολιορκήσιν: these infinitives depend on ἐνόμιζον, understood from φοβούμενοι in the preceding sentence.

ἀπόβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν: 'as it afforded no landing,' 'as it did not admit of landing.' ἔχουσιν = παρέχουσιν; cp. i. 2 προσβολὴν ἔχον, and ἔξιν in this section. The Athenians could not land on the shore of the bay, as this was occupied by hoplites; nor on the coast north of Pylos, as it was harbourless.

οὐχ ἔξιν ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι ὠφελήσουσι τοὺς αὐτῶν: 'would not afford a base from which they might help their countrymen.' The fut. indic. is regularly used in final relative clauses.

ἄνευ τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου: instead of ἄνευ τε ν. καὶ ἄνευ κ., the preposition being mentally repeated with the second noun.

κατελημμένον: Dobree's conjecture for κατελημμένον. The latter, gen. absol., agreeing with τοῦ χωρίου understood, could hardly stand

after another genitive, *σίτου οὐκ ἐνόντος*, has intervened between *τὸ χωρίον* and the participle. For the form of the clause cp. 8. 4 *οἰκοδόμημα διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων*.

- 9 *ὥς δ' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ διεβίβαζον: καί*, introducing the principal clause, expresses the correspondence between their resolution and their action. The imperfect (contrast *διεβίβασαν*, § 7) means, 'they kept sending across relays of men.'

ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόχων: the *λόχοι* were battalions of Spartiate and Perioeci. Thucydides mentions seven *λόχοι*, each numbering about 500 men, as taking part in the battle of Mantinea (v. 68. 3).

οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι: sc. *διαβάντες*.

ἐγκαταληφθέντες: 'caught in the island,' i. e. cut off in it from retreat. Not 'captured in it', as is clear from c. 38. 5, where the number 420 includes the slain.

Εἵλωτες οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺς: the Helots acted as shield-bearers (cp. 16. 1 *θεράποντι*). No indication is given as to the number of Helots present on this occasion. At the battle of Plataea there were seven Helots to each Spartiate; Hdt. ix. 10 *ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίουσ Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν Εἰλώτων*. They also served as light-armed troops, e. g. at Plataea, and occasionally even as hoplites (c. 80. 5).

- 9 *Demosthenes equips the men of his three remaining ships with arms from two Messenian vessels which arrive opportunely, bringing forty hoplites. Leaving the greater part of his force to garrison the fortifications, he marches to the shore with a picked body to await the Lacedaemonian attack.*

- 1 *τὰς τριήρεις αἱ περιῆσαν αὐτῷ*: these were three in number; cp. 5. 2, and 8. 3.

προσεσταύρωσε: 'connected them (with the fort) by a palisade,' so as to form an outwork in front of the fort.

τοὺς ναύτας ἐξ αὐτῶν: i. e. the rowers, as opposed to the fighting-men (*ἐπιβάται*). The number in each trireme would be about 170.

ἀσπίσι [τε] φαύλαις καὶ οἰσύναις ταῖς πολλαῖς: we should expect *ἀσπίσι φαύλαις τε καὶ οἰσύναις φαύλαις καί*. We can hardly say that *ἀσπίσι* is repeated in thought before *οἰσύναις* (cp. 8. 8 *ἄνευ τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου*), for then two different sets of shields would be meant. Another explanation is that some words denoting

offensive weapons, e. g. καὶ δόρασι or καὶ ἀκοντίοις, have been lost after πολλαῖς.

ἦν = παρῆν.

ὅπλα : 'heavy arms,' the full equipment of a hoplite—leather shield, spear, sword, helmet, cuirass, and greaves.

καὶ ταῦτα : 'even these'—poor as they were.

Μεσσηνίων : i. e. the Messenians at Naupactus ; see note on 3. 3. The genitive belongs to κέλητος as well as to τριακοντόρον.

κέλητος : a small, fast-sailing craft ; cp. Lat. *celox*. The word was originally used of a racehorse.

ἔτυχον παραγενόμενοι : see note on 5. 1.

ὥς τεσσαράκοντα ἐγένοντο : 'amounted to about forty.' This use of γίγνομαι with numerals is common ; cp. 23. 2.

- 2 τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ ὠπλισμένων : instead of τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ τῶν ὠπλισμένων (cp. the omission of the preposition in 8. 8 ἄνευ τε ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου). The former are the rowers, who had not the ὅπλα or full equipment of a hoplite ; the latter are the forty Messenian hoplites and the ἐπιβάται from the ships of Demosthenes. The regular number of ἐπιβάται on each trireme was ten (cp. 76. 1 with 101. 3), which gives a total of thirty on the three ships ; and if we suppose that the twenty belonging to the two ships sent to Zacynthus had been left at Pylos, the total would be fifty. Thus, with the forty Messenians Demosthenes would have a force of ninety hoplites. But as Thucydides goes on to contrast sixty hoplites with 'the majority' (τοὺς πολλοὺς), the total must have been much higher, perhaps 150 men. We must therefore assume that the number of ἐπιβάται in Eurymedon's fleet was unusually large.

ἧ : '(to the point) where.'

ἐς χωρία μὲν . . . σφίσι δέ : the clauses contrasted by μὲν and δέ are not grammatically co-ordinate ; the former is explanatory of the words ἧ . . . ἀποβαίνειν, in the latter a finite verb ἡγήτο is introduced. χωρία is 'ground'. σφίσι is dat. of disadvantage ; we say, 'as *their* wall was weak.'

τὸ πέλαιος : equivalent to τὴν θάλασσαν two lines above.

ἐσβιάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγήτο προθυμήσεσθαι : 'he thought that they would be eager to force an entrance.' ἐσβιάσασθαι is Van Leeuwen's conjecture for ἐπισπάσασθαι. Those who retain the MSS. reading render, 'he thought that it would induce (invite) them to attack

with vigour'; but to this there are several objections: (a) a subject for the infinitive has to be supplied from the preceding genitive absolute, (b) the aorist infinitive is strange, (c) so also are both the tense and the meaning of *προθυμήσεσθαι*. Several editors bracket *προθυμήσεσθαι* as a gloss, and read *ἐπισπάσεσθαι* (fut. mid. in pass. sense), 'he thought that they would be tempted' (i. e. to attack at that point).

3 *ἐλπίζοντες*: 'expecting.'

οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν ἐτείχιζον: sc. *τὸ τεῖχος*.

ἐκείνοις τε βιαζομένοις τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀλώσιμον τὸ χωρίον γίγνεσθαι: this clause depends on *ἐλπίζοντες*, the pres. infin. being used to express the certainty of the result; 'and that once the enemy began to force the landing the place would be easily captured.' The pres. participle indicates that the forcing *involved* the capture.

4 *κατὰ τοῦτο*: equivalent to *ταύτῃ* in § 2, 'at this point.'

πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν: 'quite close to the sea.'

10 *Speech of Demosthenes*. 'Do not think of our danger, but advance cheerfully to meet the foe. We are favoured by the ruggedness of the ground, and owing to the difficulty of landing they cannot use their superiority in numbers. You know by experience the difficulty of forcing a landing in face of a determined resistance: therefore stand fast now.'

I *οἱ ξυναράμενοι τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου*: 'who have shared this risk.' The genitive is partitive; lit. 'who have undertaken along with me part of this risk'.

ἐν τῇ τοιᾷδε ἀνάγκῃ: 'in such straits as these'—a situation where one is compelled to take a certain course; cp. *ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίεται* below.

ξυνετός: 'clever.' *ξύνεσις* is native intelligence, as opposed to knowledge acquired by study; cp. i. 138. 3 (of Themistocles) *οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οἰδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν*.

τὸ . . . δεινόν: 'the danger.'

μᾶλλον ἢ: most of the good MSS. have *μᾶλλον* only, but *ἢ* is found (though erased) in two of them. *μᾶλλον* alone is too abrupt, while *μᾶλλον ἢ* occurs in several similar passages of Thucydides, and gives an excellent sense: 'let no one be inclined to win a reputation for cleverness rather than to join battle,' &c. Many of the inferior MSS. have *μᾶλλον δέ*, with which *πᾶς τις βουλέσθω* would have to be supplied.

ἀπερισκέπτως εὐελπῖς: 'with unreflecting cheerfulness.' ἀπερισκέπτως is the antithesis to ἐκλογιζόμενος, 'nicely calculating.'

καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενος: these words are parallel to εὐελπῖς; 'and with the prospect of emerging triumphant from this situation.' Herwerden and Stahl insert ὥς before καί, 'in the belief that he would emerge triumphant even from this situation.' ἂν περιγενόμενος is the participial form corresponding to ἂν περιγένοιτο, 'he would (if he were bold) emerge triumphant.'

κινδύνου τοῦ ταχίστου προσδεῖται: 'call for the speediest decision'; κίνδυνος is the risk involved in settling the matter.

2 πρὸς ἡμῶν: 'in our favour.'

ἦν ἐθέλωμέν τε μέναι καὶ μὴ... καταπροδοῦναι: for the position of τε cp. 8. 8 ἄνευ ναυμαχίας καὶ κινδύνου, and 9. 2 τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ ὀπλισμένων; here ἐθέλωμεν is repeated in thought after καί. (Elmsley proposed ἦν ἐθέλωμέν γε; but we should have rather ἦν γε ἐθέλωμεν.) Contrast ἐθέλωμεν, 'are resolved,' with βουλέσθω (§ 1), 'be inclined.'

τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν κρείσσω: 'the advantages that we possess.'

3 τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου: to this corresponds τό τε πλῆθος at the beginning of § 4. γάρ introduces the enumeration of the advantages.

τὸ δυσίμβατον: not 'the difficulty of landing' (for ἐμβαίνω does not mean 'to land'), but 'the difficulty of walking' on such rugged ground, χωρία χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρῶδη, 9. 2.

ἡμέτερον = πρὸς ἡμῶν, § 2.

ὁ μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεται: all the MSS. omit ὁ, and all but one omit μέν; both are given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The omission of the relative would be very harsh, and it may easily have been dropped after the ω of νομίζω. γίγνεται, 'proves to be,' 'turns out to be.'

ὑποχωρήσασι δέ: sc. ἡμῖν. We might have had the genitive, to balance μενόντων ἡμῶν; but the dative gives the notion of disadvantage; 'if we give way, we shall find (to our sorrow) the ground quite passable (by the enemy) in spite of its difficulty.'

εὖπορον: sc. τοῖς πολεμίοις.

τὸν πολέμιον δεινότερον ἔσομεν: 'we shall find the enemy more formidable.'

μὴ ῥαδίας αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως: the adverb πάλιν goes closely with the verbal idea in ἀναχωρήσεως. With ῥαδίως, the

reading of most good MSS., may be compared ἀποβάσεως μάλιστα οὔσης, 13. 1.

ἦν καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν βιάζεται : 'if he is actually overpowered by us,' 'in the event of his being overpowered by us.' The reason for thinking this hypothesis improbable is stated in the next sentence, ἐπὶ γὰρ . . . ἥδη.

ἐπὶ . . . ταῖς ναυσί : i. e. as long as they are on board.

ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ : sc. ἡμῖν.

4 κατ' ὀλίγον : 'in small relays'; cp. 11. 3 κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς.

οὐκ ἐν γῇ στρατός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μείζων : 'it is not a force on land, superior (to us) when the conditions are equal.'

αἷς πολλὰ τὰ καίρια δεῖ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ξυμβῆναι : 'which require a conjunction of many favourable circumstances on sea,' lit. 'for which favourable circumstances must concur in great numbers'. τὰ καίρια are properly 'things that happen at the right moment'; he means suitable wind, good rowing, easy landing, &c. With ξυμβῆναι in this sense cp. ξυμβαῖνοι, 4. 2.

5 τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει : 'our (inferiority in) numbers.' πλήθος of course is generally applied to a *large* number.

ἐπισταμένους . . . τὴν . . . ἀπόβασιν ὅτι . . . οὐκ ἂν ποτε βιάζοιτο : ἐπισταμένους is constructed first with an accusative and then with a clause introduced by ὅτι; 'knowing by experience the nature of a landing in face of the enemy, that it would never be effected by force.' The acc. thus anticipates the subject of the dependent clause; with the passive (ἡ ἀπόβασις) βιάζοιτο cp. the middle βιαζομένοις τὴν ἀπόβασιν, 9. 3. Or the subject of βιάζοιτο may be τις, supplied from the protasis; cp. ἦν καὶ (ὁ πολέμιος) ὑφ' ἡμῶν βιάζεται, 10. 3.

ροθίου : the noise made by the oars churning the water.

νεῶν δεινότητος κατάπλου : κατάπλου seems to be added as an afterthought, for the sake of precision; lit. 'the terribleness of the ships, i. e. of their approach to land'. See note on κατήνεγκε, 3. 1.

καὶ αὐτοὺς : 'yourselves also' (as well as those suggested by the expression εἴ τις), referring to ὑμᾶς above.

11-12 *The Athenians line the shore, and the Lacedaemonians attack both by land and by sea. Brasidas, conspicuous in the naval assault, is wounded. The Lacedaemonians cannot effect a landing.*

11 I ἐπικαταβάντες ἐτάξαντο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν : i. e. they lined

the shore. While Demosthenes was addressing them they had of course been in a different formation (cp. ἔταξε, 9. 4).

- 2 ἄραντες: intransitive, 'having started,' referring both to the fleet and to the army.

τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισί: as the Spartan fleet numbered sixty vessels (8. 2), we must suppose that seventeen were left out of action. It is unnecessary to alter τεσσαράκοντα to ἐξήκοντα (with Poppo) and to assume that three more had joined the fleet that came from Corcyra.

ναύαρχος: such was the designation of the Spartan admiral-in-chief, whose position on sea was parallel to that of the kings as generals on land; cp. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9, 33 ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς αἰδίοις ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. The office was held for a year, and only once in a lifetime.

- 3 ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης: 'on both sides, on the land side as well as on the sea side.' For ἐκ, denoting the point from which the action is viewed, cp. ἐκ δεξιᾶς, 'on the right,' Lat. *a dextra*.

κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι... καὶ ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει: 'dividing (their force) into small detachments... and relieving them in turn.'

εἰ πως: 'in the hope that...,' lit. 'in case somehow'. Conditional clauses introduced by εἰ πως, εἰν πως (cp. Lat. *si forte*), contain an implication of purpose.

- 4 Βρασιδᾶς: see Introduction, p. xxx.

δοκοίη: optative of indefinite frequency.

σχεῖν: 'to put in' (to land).

φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυνιρίψωσιν: 'careful not to stave in their ships,' lit. 'being careful in respect of their ships, lest they stave them in'. The genitive is here used with φυλάσσομαι on the analogy of the gen. with φείδομαι. It is less satisfactory to take the gen. as partitive with ξυνιρίψωσιν, 'careful lest they stave in some of (or parts of) their ships.'

πεποιημένους: 'having made (for themselves).'

τοὺς ξυμμάχους: the allies who furnished ships are enumerated in ii. 9. 3—Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, Pellene, Elis, Ambracia, and Leucas.

ἐπιδοῦναι: 'to give freely.' ἐπιδίδωμι and ἐπίδοσις are used

specially of the 'free gifts' invited by the Athenian state from the citizens to meet extraordinary expenditure.

- 1 τὴν παρεξερσεῖαν: 'the space beyond the rowers,' either at the bow or at the stern; here of course the former.

περιερρύη: 'slipped off his arm.' περιρρέω, 'slip off,' is used of things that *surround*, e.g. fetters, girdles; cp. περιαιρέω. The shield had two handles (ὄχανα), the left arm being passed through one and the left hand grasping the other.

τὸ τροπαῖον . . . ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης: the genitive depends on ὃ (τροπαῖον); cp. vi. 98. 4 τροπαῖον τῆς ἵππομαχίας ἔστησαν.

- 2 τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων: the notion of cause is given first by a dative and then by a genitive absolute.

- 3 ἐς τοῦτό τε περίεστη ἡ τύχη: 'and such was the reversal of fortune.'

καὶ ταύτης: 'and that too.'

ἀποβαίνειν: present of attempted action.

ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης . . . τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι: ἐπὶ πολὺ is equivalent to an accusative, as in 3. 2; and the subject of the sentence is ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι (where ἡπειρώταις is attracted from the acc. to the case of τοῖς); lit. 'the fact that the Spartans were chiefly landsmen gave rise to much of their reputation', i.e. the 'Spartans owed much of their reputation to the fact that they were chiefly landsmen'. Classen makes ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς δόξης the subject, and translates: 'the prevailing opinion inclined towards the one party, that they were chiefly landsmen,' comparing for the intransitive use of ἐποίει the passage in ii. 8. 4 ἡ δὲ εὐνοία παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, 'men's good-will made greatly for the Lacedaemonians.'

ἐν τῷ τότε: sc. χρόνῳ.

ἡπειρώταις: the word is generally opposed to νησιώτης, but here to θαλασσίους. In Homer ἡπειρος often means 'land' as opposed to sea, and thus is used even of islands; e.g. *Od.* v. 55 (of Hermes coming to Calypso's isle) ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφίκετο τηλόθ' ἐοῦσαν, | ἔνθ' ἐκ πόντου βὰς ἰοιδέος ἡπειρόνδε | ἦεν. In *Thuc.* i. 142. 7 the Spartans are described as ἀνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι.

13-14 *The Lacedaemonians send to Asine for timber to construct siege-engines, hoping to land in the harbour and demolish the wall on that side. The Athenian fleet returns from Zacynthus, enters the harbour, and defeats the Lacedaemonian fleet, thus cutting off the garrison of Sphacteria. The Peloponnesian allies have now arrived.*

13 I ἐπέπαυτο: the pluperfect denotes a state existing in the past and arising from a previous act, 'they had ceased and made no move.'
μηχανάς: 'siege-engines,' e.g. battering-rams, scaling-ladders, mantlets.

Ἀσίνην: on the west coast of the Messenian Gulf.

ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὐσης ἐλεῖν (ἄν) μηχαναῖς: 'expecting that, though the wall facing the harbour was high, they would take it with siege-engines, as it was the best place to land at.' The clause ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν is not of course part of what they expected, but is introduced for the sake of contrast to the clause with δέ; hence it should be rendered by a subordinate clause in English. With ἐλεῖν supply τὸ . . . τεῖχος as object. (Ullrich conjectured ἔχον, needlessly, in order to avoid this.) ἀποβάσεως μάλιστα οὐσης is lit. 'landing being possible (there) rather than anywhere else'; εἶναι in this sense is common in Thucydides. ἄν should probably be inserted after ἐλεῖν: the evidence is fairly conclusive against the use by Thucydides of the aorist infin. without ἄν after ἐλπίζω.

2 τεσσαράκοντα: this number is not large enough. Of the original fleet of forty all were at Zacynthus except the three still with Demosthenes, so that with the additions mentioned in the next sentence the total must have been over forty. Again, in 23. 2, it is stated that a reinforcement of twenty ships brings the total up to seventy; so that here we should perhaps read πενήκοντα with two of the inferior MSS.

τῶν τε φρουρίδων . . . τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου: the squadron stationed at Naupactus commanded the Corinthian Gulf; cp. ii. 69. 1 [Φορμίων] ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Ναυπάκτου φυλακὴν εἶχε μῆτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου μηδένα μῆτ' ἐσπλεῖν.

Χῖαι τέσσαρες: Chios and Methymna (in Lesbos) were now the only members of the Confederacy of Delos who continued to furnish ships (vi. 85. 2; vii. 57. 4, 5); all others paid tribute.

- 3 Πρωτὴν τὴν νῆσον : about eight miles north-west of Pylos.
 ἡύλίσαντο : they passed the night on land.
 ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν = ὥς ναυμαχίῃσιν, 'with the intention of fighting.'

ἦν μὲν ἀντεκπελεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν : the apodosis to this protasis can easily be supplied from ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, e.g. ὥς ἐνταῦθα ναυμαχίῃσιν.

εἰ δὲ μή : this is the regular formula in alternatives, and is far more common than ἦν δὲ μή even when ἦν μὲν has preceded.

- 4 οὔτε ἂ διανοήθησαν, φάρξαι τοὺς ἔσπλους, ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες : 'nor had they really done what they intended, viz. to block the entrances.' Here ἔτυχον with the participle denotes, not coincidence in time (as in 5. 1 and 9. 1), but coincidence of thought with reality. φάρξαι (cp. 8. 7) is in apposition to ταῦτα understood as antecedent of ἂ, the plural denoting the various stages of the process.

οὐ σμικρῶ : this form occurs in two other passages, vii. 75. 5 and (in one MS. only) viii. 81. 2; in both cases it is preceded by οὐ.

- 14 I γνόντες : 'observing' the enemy's unreadiness.

τὰς μὲν πλείους : the antithesis to this begins at αἱ δὲ καὶ πληροῦμεναι ἔτι.

μετέωρους : 'in deep water,' lit. 'raised from off the ground'; cp. αἶρειν τὰς ναῦς, 'to get the fleet under way.'

ἐπιδιώκοντες ὥς διὰ βραχείος : 'pursuing hotly, as was natural considering the smallness of the interval.' The Athenians, having only a small distance between themselves and the enemy, had a fair chance of overtaking them before they could gain the land. Others interpret, 'pursuing as well as they could considering the smallness of the interval (between the Spartans and the land)'; on this view pursuit, unless very soon successful, was useless owing to the proximity of shelter.

αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν : dative of association, lit. 'together with the men themselves'; i.e. 'crew and all'.

ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς : i.e. those of the μετέωροι that had not been damaged or captured.

ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυῖαις : 'now in refuge on the land,' the perfect tense expressing the present state resulting from a past act (they had fled for refuge).

ἐνέβαλλον: 'they rammed' with the beaks (ἔμβολοι or ἔμβολα) of their ships.

καὶ πληρούμεναι ἔτι: 'even before their crews were all on board.'

ἀναδούμενοι εἰλκον: the present participle implies that the actions of 'making fast' and 'towing' went on simultaneously, one ship being made fast while another was being towed; cp. ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν, 2.1.

2 ἃ ὁρῶντες: the relative, as a connective at the beginning of a sentence, sums up the facts already mentioned.

οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: i. e. their land force.

ὅτι περ: 'just because.'

αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο: '(so far from the Athenians being beaten) their *συν* men were (thereby) being cut off.' The position of αὐτῶν makes it emphatic, and implies a contrast.

ἐπεσβαίνοντες . . . ἀνθεῖλκον: see note on § 1 ἀναδούμενοι εἰλκον.

ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις: ξὺν is used, like Lat. *cum*, of what one wears or carries.

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἕκαστος ᾧ μὴ τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν: ἐν τούτῳ is probably antecedent to ᾧ τινι, the substantive ἔργῳ being put in the relative clause instead of standing with the demonstrative, and κεκωλῦσθαι is impersonal: 'each man thought that matters were at a standstill in any action in which he was not personally engaged.' To avoid explaining ᾧ μὴ τινι as equivalent to ᾧ τινι μὴ, Poppo proposed *τις* for *τινι* (cp. ii. 8. 4, quoted below). [Others take ᾧ with ἐν τούτῳ, and *τινι* with ἔργῳ, rendering, 'each man thought that matters were at a standstill in that quarter in which he was not personally engaged in some action.'] Similar language is used in ii. 8. 4, of the state of feeling among the allies of Sparta on the outbreak of the war; ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἑκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέστα.

3 καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένου τοῦ ἐκατέρων τρόπου: 'there being actually an interchange of the methods characteristic of the respective sides'; for the Spartans were now fighting a sea-battle, though their reputation was won on land; while the Athenians were fighting a land-battle, though their pre-eminence was on sea (cp. 12. 3). ἀντηλλαγμένου is a necessary correction of ἀντηλλαγμένος (so all MSS.); we cannot say that 'confusion' took the place of the characteristic method of each side.

περὶ τὰς ναῦς: these words belong to ἀντηλλαγμένου.

ἐκπλήξεως: 'excitement.'

ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν: 'were virtually engaged in a sea-fight from land.' With ἄλλο οὐδὲν supply ἐποίουν. ὡς εἰπεῖν = *præne dixerim*, indicating that the expression requires modification; e.g. πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν is 'nearly every one'. (It is hardly ever used, like the English 'so to speak', to introduce a metaphor.) The sentence then is literally '(were doing) practically nothing else than fighting a sea-battle from land'.

τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπεξελθεῖν: 'to proceed as far as possible under their present good-fortune.' τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ is probably instrumental dative; the usage of Thucydides is against taking it as indirect object of ἐπεξελθεῖν, 'to follow up their good-fortune as far as possible.'

4 τὰς κενὰς ναῦς πλὴν τῶν τὸ πρῶτον ληφθεῖσων: this is loosely expressed, for the five ships captured had their crews on board.

5 καταστάντες δὲ ἑκάτεροι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον: Thucydides does not indicate the station of the Athenian fleet.

νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν: 'gave up the dead' to their countrymen, who were entitled to receive them (ἀπο-).

καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ἤδη βεβοηθηκότες: this was in response to the summons sent out four days previously (8. 2). With πάντων understand τῶν Πελοποννησίων.

κατὰ χώραν: a military expression, 'as they were,' 'in their place.'

15-16 *The Spartan authorities, having proceeded to Pylos, make a truce with the Athenian commanders, and send an embassy to Athens to negotiate for the recovery of the men on Sphacteria. The Lacedaemonians are to deliver up their ships till the embassy returns, and are to be allowed to convey food and drink to the island.*

15 1 εἰς δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὡς ἡγγέλθη: the change of scene is marked by the unusual order of the words.

ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς: i.e. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ: 'recognizing the gravity of the incident.' ὡς shows that this was the view taken by the Spartans; ἐπὶ with dat. denotes the occasion; lit. 'in view of what they deemed a great calamity'.

τὰ τέλη καταβάνας: *constructio ad sensum*, since τὰ τέλη = τοὺς

ἐν τέλει, 'the authorities,' i.e. the five Ephors. κατα- means 'down to the coast'; cp. note on κατήνεγκε, 3. 1.

βουλευεῖν παραχρήμα . . . ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ: 'should at once decide as might seem good to them,' without referring the matter to the Council and Assembly. The pres. βουλεύειν generally means 'to deliberate', the aor. βουλευσαι 'to resolve'.

2 τι παθεῖν: the common euphemism for ἀποθανεῖν; cp. 38. 1 εἴ τι ἐκείνοι πάσχοιεν.

κρατηθῆναι: most of the good MSS. have ἡ κρατηθῆναι, but this gives no satisfactory alternative to death by starvation (ὑπὸ λιμοῦ) and death after defeat (ὑπὸ πλήθους βιασθέντας).

ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς: i.e. the Ephors resolved.

τὰ περὶ Πύλον: acc. of respect with σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους.

16 I τὸν λόγον: 'the proposal.'

ἐγίνοντο σπονδαί: expressions like σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι, in which ποιεῖσθαι and a noun are equivalent to the cognate verb (e.g. σπένδεσθαι), are represented in the passive by γίνεσθαι with the noun as subject. The imperfect tense dwells upon the details of the negotiations; contrast the aorist ἐγένοντο in § 3.

Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τὰς ναῦς . . . παραδοῦναι: the terms of the treaty are given in the acc. and infin., expressing a dependent command after some such expression as 'it is resolved'.

τὰς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν μακραί: these include the ships sent to Asine, 13. 1. νῆες μακραί are war-ships, which were long^{er} and narrow in comparison with the broad-beamed merchant ships (νῆες στρογγύλαι).

σῆτον . . . τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον: 'a fixed quantity of bread ready baked' (lit. 'kneaded'). This is explained by the words which follow.

δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς: the Attic χοῖνιξ was nearly equivalent to the English quart. The Attic measures were smaller, by about one-third, than the Aeginetan which were used in Sparta.

ἀλφίτων: barley loaves were the only kind of bread eaten on ordinary occasions in the Spartan 'messes' (συσσίτια); wheaten bread was one of the delicacies with which a member sometimes regaled himself and his comrades.

δύο κοτύλας οἴνου: the (Attic) κοτύλη was roughly a half-pint. These were obviously daily allowances. The average daily quanti-

ties contributed by each member of a *συσσίτιον* at Sparta work out at two and two-fifths Attic *χοίνικες* of meal, and between four and five Attic *κοτύλαι* of wine (Dicaearchus, quoted by Athenaeus, 141 C; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 12, gives the quantities according to the Aeginetan standard). A king, when absent from the *συσσίτιον*, had two *χοίνικες* of barleymeal and one *κοτύλη* of wine sent to his house; when present, he received double these quantities (Hdt. vi. 57).

κρέας: 'a piece of meat.' The quantity is not specified, and the average allowance at a *συσσίτιον* is unknown. The favourite kind of meat among the Spartans was pork, from which, with pigs' blood, their famous 'black broth' was made.

θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμίσεια: 'and half of these quantities for (each) attendant,' i.e. Helot; cp. 8. 9. Herodotus (vii. 187) reckons a *χοῖνιξ* of wheat as the minimum allowance for an Oriental in the army of Xerxes.

ἐσπέμπειν: contrasted with *ἐκπέμπειν* three lines above. There Thucydides was speaking of the dispatching of the rations from the mainland, here of their arrival on the island.

μηδὲν ἥσσον: 'not less closely' than they had been doing since the sea-fight (14. 5).

ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας: 'so far as (they could so) without landing.'
 2 *ὅτι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ὀτιοῦν*: 'and if either party should transgress any of these stipulations even in the slightest degree.' The relative *ὅτι* has no antecedent, and *ὅτι ἂν* is used loosely for *ἢν τι* or *ὅταν τι*. *ὅτι* is the direct object, *ὀτιοῦν* is acc. of respect. *ἑκάτερος* here = 'either of two' (*uterque*, *uterlibet*), not 'both of two' (*uterque*).

τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς: 'the truce should thereupon be at an end.' The perfect denotes the continuing state. Similarly, *ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτάς*, 'the truce should hold good.'

μέχρι οὗ ἐπανέλθωσιν: Thucydides uses the subjunctive without *ἂν* after *μέχρι*, *μέχρι οὗ*, and *πρίν*.

ἐλθόντων δέ: sc. *τῶν πρέσβων*; cp. 3. 1 *ἀντιλεγόντων δέ*.

ἀποδοῦναι: 'should give up (to their rightful owners)'; contrast *παραδοῦναι* in § I, and *παρεδόθησαν* below.

3 *αἱ μὲν σπονδαί*: asyndeton.

περὶ ἑξήκοντα: of the sixty ships that came from Corcyra (8. 2), the Athenians had captured five (14. 1) and some had been sent to

Asine (13. 1). The total in this passage includes τὰς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πάσας (16. 1).

17 *Speech of the Spartan envoys.* 'Our object is to make an arrangement advantageous to you and honourable to ourselves. The length of our speech is not a violation of Spartan usage. Listen to our arguments in the spirit in which they are uttered. Do not act like men who are not accustomed to success and who are therefore too grasping. Both Athens and Sparta have learned by experience not to trust in the favour of fortune.'

1 πράξοντας . . . οὔσιν: 'to effect whatever arrangement we may prevail upon you to enter into as being at once advantageous to yourselves and most likely to bring us credit, as far as is possible under the circumstances, in regard to the unfortunate occurrence.' τὸ αὐτό is used adverbially, like Lat. *idem*. ὅτι must be supplied as subject of μέλλη; strictly we should have had μέλλον, parallel to ὅν.

2 τοὺς δὲ λόγους μακρότερους οὐ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς μηχανοῦμεν: μακροτέρους is predicative with μηχανοῦμεν, and οὐ goes closely with παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, which is balanced by the acc. absolute ἐπιχώριον ὅν; 'we shall prolong our remarks at considerable length, not in contravention of our custom, but because it is our national habit . . .'; i. e. in prolonging our remarks we shall not be departing from our custom. The envoys are combating the misconception that brevity *under all circumstances* is characteristic of Spartans.

οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι: οὐ is the adverb, 'where.' The subjunctive without ἄν in indefinite relative clauses is not uncommon in poetry, but quite exceptional in Attic prose (cp. οὔτινες . . . νομίσωσι 18. 4); the words οὐ μὲν . . . πολλοῖς in this passage may be a quotation from a poet, as they form the first five feet of an iambic trimeter.

πλέοσι: sc. λόγοις χρῆσθαι.

ἐν ᾧ ἄν: equivalent to οὐ ἄν or ὅταν.

διδάσκοντάς τι τῶν προύργου λόγοις τὸ δέον πράσσειν: 'to effect our object by the use of words, setting forth something that is of importance.'

3 λάβετε δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμίως: the negative belongs only to the adverb, for otherwise we should have μὴ λάβητε.

ὥς ἀξύνετοι διδασκόμενοι: 'under the impression that you are being schooled as people lacking intelligence.' ὥς indicates a view which the Athenians might possibly take, and is balanced in the next clause by ἡγησάμενοι; in fact ὥς διδασκόμενοι = διδάσκεσθαι ἡγησάμενοι.

πρὸς εἰδότας: with ἰπόμενησιν, 'a reminder addressed to people who already know.'

- 4 ὑμῖν γάρ: γάρ, as usual, introduces the detailed explanation of the good advice that has just been promised.

καλῶς θέσθαι: 'to turn to good account.' The metaphor is (1) from depositing or investing money, or (2) from moving pieces in a game; cp. Plato, *Rep.* 604C ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα.

καὶ μὴ παθεῖν ὅπερ οἱ . . . λαμβάνοντες: 'instead of being actuated by the same feelings as those who attain...' παθεῖν means to be affected in a certain way, to be in a certain frame of mind.

τοῦ πλείονος: we say 'more', but in Greek the article by implication contrasts 'the more' with 'the less'.

ἐλπίδι: dative of cause.

τὰ παρόντα: internal object of ἐντυχῆσαι.

- 5 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω: 'in both directions,' i.e. from good fortune to bad and vice versa.

δίκαιοι εἰσι καὶ ἀπιστότατοι εἶναι: 'have reason to feel also the greatest distrust.' This personal construction is common, instead of τούτους δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπιστοτάτους εἶναι.

ὅ: 'and this' (distrust of fortune).

δι' ἐμπειρίαν: these words belong to ἡμῖν as well as to τῇ ὑμετέρῃ πόλει.

- 18 'Our present position is the result of an error of judgement. Sensible men recognize the instability of fortune and the chances of war. Beware lest, if you reject our offer, your present success be regarded as mere luck.'

- I γνῶτε: 'you must recognize this' (i.e. the instability of fortune). οἷτινες: generic, 'a people who.' The antecedent is ἡμῶν, implied in ἡμετέρας.

πρότερον αὐτοὶ κυριώτεροι νομίζοντες εἶναι δοῦναι: 'though we

formerly thought that it lay with us rather to grant . . . ' νομίζοντες is imperfect participle with πρότερον; cp. οὔση, 3. 2.

ἐφ' αἱ: with ἀφιγμένοι, instead of αἱ as object of αἰτούμεθα.

- 2 οὔτε δυνάμεως ἐνδεία . . . οὔτε . . . ὑβρίσαντες: for the variation of construction cp. 12. 2 χαλεπότητι . . . μενόντων.

ἐπάθομεν αὐτό: 'we have experienced it.' αὐτό means the reversal of their ordinary position.

ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν αἰεὶ ὑπαρχόντων: 'with (lit. starting from) our regular resources.'

γνώμη σφαλέντες: 'committing an error of judgement.'

ἐν ᾧ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει: lit. 'in regard to which the same thing is possible for all alike', i.e. 'a contingency to which all are equally liable'. The antecedent to ᾧ is γνώμη σφαλῆναι.

- 3 πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν προσγεγενημένων: 'Athens and her acquisitions,' i.e. her empire. πόλις is treated as virtually a proper name, and so is without the article.

τὸ τῆς τύχης: 'the favour of fortune.'

- 4 σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔτινες . . . ἔθεντο: 'they are wise men who prudently reckon their gains as doubtful' (lit. liable to attack from both sides). σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν is a possessive genitive used predicatively, and there is a mixture of two constructions, (a) σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν ἐστι θέσθαι, 'it is characteristic of wise men to reckon,' and (b) σώφρονες ἄνδρες εἰσιν οὔτινες ἔθεντο. The aorist is 'gnomic', expressing habitual action.

τάγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο: in the interpretation given above, ἔθεντο is taken in its common meaning of 'reckon' or 'regard' under a certain category (expressed by a preposition and case), and ἀσφαλῶς means 'thus avoiding risks'. It is also possible to join ἀσφαλῶς with ἔθεντο in the sense 'order safely', i.e. 'make secure' (cp. καλῶς θέσθαι, 17. 4), and render ἐς ἀμφίβολον: 'in view of the uncertainty of the future.'

τόν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι . . . ἡγήσωνται: 'and (who) believe that war abides with a man, not so long as he may choose to engage in it (lit. according to whatever part of it a man may choose to engage in) but according as their various fortunes may direct.'

τόν πόλεμον is personified as the companion of the combatant, and the length of that companionship (i.e. the duration of the war) does not depend upon the choice of the combatant, but upon the

mysterious power of fortune. The mood of νομίσωσι is strange: strictly we should have had ἐνόμισαν, parallel to ἔθεντο; but after the parenthesis (καὶ ταῖς . . . προσφέρουσι) the subjunctive is introduced as though οἱ αὖν, and not οἷτινες, had been used in the first clause; cp. 17. 2 οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι. The negative μή with ξυνεῖναι after a verb of thinking is due to the fact that νομίσωσι would itself be negated by μή. τούτῳ is best taken as masc. referring to τις: it is possible to regard it as neut. referring to μέρος, but then a masc. dative has to be understood ('abide [with him] in that part'). αὐτῶν is masc., the plural referring back to οἷτινες.

ἐλάχιστ' ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πταίνοντες: ἐλάχιστα belongs to πταίνοντες, but is put first for emphasis. αὖν has nothing to do with the participle; it merely prepares the way for the second αὖν with καταλύειντο.

τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ αὐτοῦ: 'by success in it' (i. e. in war). This use of a neuter participle with article, where in English an abstract noun is employed, is characteristic of Thucydides; see *Introd.*, p. xx.

ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν: 'in the hour of good fortune.'

5 ὅ: i. e. τὸ καταλύεσθαι.

καὶ μή . . . νομισθῆναι: 'and to avoid being thought.'

ἤν ἄρα: cp. note on 8. 5.

ἃ πολλὰ ἐνδέχεται: 'as may well be the case,' lit. 'which (failures) are possible in great numbers.' The antecedent of ἃ is σφάλματα, implied in σφαλῆτε.

τὰ νῦν προχωρήσαντα: internal accusative with κρατῆσαι.

19 'Sparta offers you fair terms. It will be better for both sides not to push matters to extremes. A lasting reconciliation is best secured by moderation and generosity: especially is this the case with bitter enemies.'

I διδόντες μὲν εἰρήνην . . . ὑπάρχειν: the infinitive is epexegetic, 'offering peace and alliance and much friendly and intimate relationship in general, that these may subsist between us.' With διδόντες, 'being willing to give,' cp. ἡπείγοντο, 3. 1.

μή διακινδυνεύεσθαι: impersonal passive, 'that the risk should not be run to the bitter end.'

εἴτε βίᾳ διαφύγοιεν . . . εἴτε . . . μάλλον ἂν χειρωθεῖεν: the alternative

risks are expressed (*a*) by a deliberative optative, (*b*) by a potential optative with *ἄν*. The deliberative optative is noteworthy as occurring after a primary tense; it implies the remoteness of the chance of the men escaping. Lit. 'whether they are to effect their escape by force on the occurrence of some means of deliverance, or whether they would be compelled to surrender and so be more completely overpowered (than they are at present)'.

- 2 ἐπικρατήσας τὰ πλείω τοῦ πολέμου: 'having proved superior in most parts of the war.' Stahl conjectured πολεμίου, 'having proved superior to his enemy in most points.'

κατ' ἀνάγκην ὄρκους ἐγκαταλαμβάνων: 'binding (his opponent) by oaths under pressure.'

παρὸν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι: 'though it is in his power to take the same course.'

πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικές: 'in a spirit of fairness,' with *ξυναλλαγῇ*.

ἀρετῇ αὐτὸν νικήσας: αὐτόν, the reading of later MSS., means 'his opponent'. αὐτό would have to mean 'his desire to enforce harsh terms'.

παρὰ ἃ προσεδέχετο: SC. ὁ πολέμιος.

- 3 αἰσχύνῃ: 'from a sense of honour,' the feeling which keeps one from doing a dishonourable act.

- 4 τοῦτο δρῶσιν: i. e. ἐμμένουσιν οἷς ξυνέθεντο.

τοῖς μὲν . . . ἐνδοῦσιν: masculine, like τοὺς . . . διενεχθέντας; but in the contrasted clause the neuter is used, τὰ ὑπεραυχοῦντα.

καὶ παρὰ γνώμην: 'even against their better judgement.'

- 20 'Now is the time for reconciliation, before we suffer any irreparable loss. Let us make peace, and so deliver the other Greeks from the burden of the war; they will give you the credit. If Athens and Sparta are at one, the rest of Greece will have nothing but respect for them both.'

- I εἴπερ ποτέ: 'now, if ever.'

τι ἀνήκεστον: an allusion to the fate of the Spartan captives.

διὰ μέσου γένόμενον: 'occurring in the interval.' καταλαβεῖν: 'befall.'

ἐν ᾧ: 'in which case.' ὑμῖν: object of ἔχθραν ἔχειν.

ἔχθραν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαν: either (1) 'personal in addition to national hatred', personal hatred being felt by individual Spartans

on account of the loss of relatives at Sphacteria; or (2) 'special hatred in addition to that which we share with our allies'.

ὦν νῦν προκαλούμεθα : i. e. peace, alliance, &c. (19. 1).

- 2 ἔτι δ' ὄντων ἀκρίτων : 'while the issue is still undecided'; genitive absolute without a noun expressed; cp. ἀντιλεγόντων δέ, 3. 1.

πρὸ αἰσχροῦ τινός : 'before any disgrace befalls us.'

μετρίως κατατιθεμένης : 'being settled on reasonable terms.'

οἳ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ . . . ἡγήσονται : 'who, moreover, will give you the chief credit in this matter.' καί, on this view, belongs to the whole clause, and introduces a further reason why the Athenians should make peace. If καί is taken with ἐν τούτῳ only, the meaning cannot be 'in making peace *as well as in going to war*', for that would be inconsistent with the next sentence; it might mean 'as well as in refusing to make peace'.

πολεμοῦνται : 'are being made war upon' (from πολεμέω), rather than 'are being made hostile' (from πολεμώ).

ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων : sc. πολεμοῦνται, 'without knowing which of the two parties was the aggressor.' Dependent upon ἀσαφῶς, which implies a participle, e. g. ἀγνοοῦντες or ἄδηλον ὄν, there is an indirect question containing a genitive absolute.

- 3 ἢν τε γνῶτε : 'and if you resolve' (to take the course we propose).

ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν φίλους γενέσθαι : for the acc. φίλους cp. παραπλέοντας,

2. 3.

αὐτῶν τε προκαλεσαμένων : this refers to the Lacedaemonians; the following datives agree with ὑμῖν.

- 4 ἐν τούτῳ : with τὰ ἐνόντα ἀγαθά, 'the advantages involved in this course.'

ταὐτὰ λεγόντων : 'using the same language,' with the implication, 'acting in unison.'

τὰ μέγιστα : internal accusative.

21-23 *The Athenians, led by Cleon, demand the surrender of Nisaea, Pegae, Troezen, and Achaia as a preliminary to the restoration of the men on Sphacteria. The proposal of the envoys that the matter should be referred to a committee is scouted by Cleon, and they depart from Athens. The truce now terminates, but the Athenians decline to restore the Lacedaemonian ships. They*

keep close watch on the island, while the Peloponnesians make repeated assaults on Pylos.

- 21 I τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ σπονδῶν μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν: in 430, after the plague, the Athenians were eager to come to terms, and sent an embassy to Sparta; but their overtures were rejected (ii. 59. 2). ἐπιθυμεῖν and κωλύεσθαι are imperfect infinitives.
- 2 ἐτοίμους: agreeing with σπονδάς. Elsewhere in Thucydides the adjective is of three terminations.

τοῦ δὲ πλέονος ὠρέγοντο: cp. 17. 4.

- 3 Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου: see Introduction, pp. xiii, xxxiii.

ἀνὴρ δημαγωγός . . . πιθανώτατος: these words are bracketed by Herwerden and others on the ground that they contain no reference to the similar language used about Cleon in iii. 36. 6 Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου . . . ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαίωτατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος. Grote thinks that Thucydides has forgotten that he had introduced Cleon previously. δημαγωγός (here only in Thucydides) originally has a neutral meaning, 'a leader of the people,' whether for good or for ill; thus Isocrates uses the word of Pericles; it could be applied to any one who was influential in the Assembly, whether he held office or not. Later it came to have the unfavourable sense of our 'demagogue', e. g. Arist. *Pol.* v. 11. 12 ἔστι γὰρ ὁ δημαγωγός τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ. The most influential of the δημαγωγοί seems to have been called προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, and Cleon succeeded to this position on the death of Lysicles the sheep-seller in the winter of 428-7.

ἐλθόντων δέ: sc. τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ.

Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγάς: the two ports of Megara, the former on the Saronic Gulf, facing Salamis, the latter at the head of the Corinthian Gulf. Athens had made an alliance with Megara in 461-0, and thus gained both ports (i. 103, 4).

Τροιζήνα: near the eastern extremity of the Argolic peninsula; it was acquired about 457.

Ἀχαΐαν: acquired at some time between 453 and 445.

ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ξυμβάσεως: i. e. the Thirty Years' Peace, concluded in 445 (i. 115. 1).

Ἀθηναίων συγχωρησάντων κατὰ ξυμφοράς: Athens had lost Boeotia as the result of the battle of Coroneia in 447; Euboea and Megara

soon afterwards revolted, and a Peloponnesian army invaded Attica (i. 113, 114).

δεομένων τι μᾶλλον σπονδῶν: 'being in considerably greater need of a truce' (than they were now, *or* than the Peloponnesians).

22 1 ξυνέδρους: 'commissioners.' The word is used of a small committee carrying on negotiations, as opposed to the πλήθος.

λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες: 'speaking and listening,' i.e. conferring together.

κατὰ ἡσυχίαν: as opposed to the noise of the Assembly.

2 ἐνταῦθα δὴ: marking a decisive moment.

πολὺς ἐνέκειτο: 'pressed the attack with vehemence,' a metaphor from troops pressing upon a retreating enemy. The expression is used also by Herodotus and Demosthenes, and is imitated by Sallust, *Iug.* 84. 1 *multus atque ferox instare*. With the adverbial use of the adj. compare πολὺς ῥεῖ, πολὺς πνεῖ.

γινώσκειν: 'that he had been observing.'

οὔτινες: causal, 'seeing that they.'

τῇ μὲν πλήθει . . . ὀλίγοις δὲ ἀνδράσι: an invidious contrast, suggesting οἱ ὀλίγοι in the political sense.

ἐθέλουσιν . . . βούλονται: 'will . . . wish.'

εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διανοοῦνται: 'if they meant anything honest.' ἐγίης, 'healthy,' 'sound,' is opposed to σαθρός, 'rotten,' 'unsound.'

3 ἐν πλήθει: 'before a multitude,' 'in a public meeting'; not τῷ πλήθει, because the objection was not to the Athenian Assembly in particular, but to any large gathering.

εἴ τι καὶ . . . ξυγχωρεῖν: 'if they did approve of making some concession under the stress of calamity.' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, lit. 'it seemed good to them'.

οὐ τυχόντες: 'if they did not gain their point.'

23 1 διελέλυντο: 'was at an end.' This is Cobet's correction of the MSS. reading διελύοντο, which is inconsistent with the terms of the truce as given in 16. 2 ἐλθόντων δὲ τὰς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ταύτας. On the return of the ambassadors the truce was *ipso facto* at an end.

ἐπιδρομήν τε τῷ τειχίσματι: the dative is here used in dependence on a noun, on the analogy of the verb ἐπιτρέχω.

ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι: in the estimation of the Peloponnesians, and probably of the historian also.

οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν: 'constantly declined to give them up,' the imperfect corresponding to ἀπῆτουν, 'made repeated demands.'

ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ εἴρητο: 'insisting that it had of course been stipulated.' δὴ indicates that the fact was obvious and well-known to every one.

ἐάν καὶ ὁτιοῦν παραβαθῇ: ὁτιοῦν is here nominative, not as in 16. 2.

ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸ τῶν νεῶν: 'after accusing them of a wrongful act in the (detention) of the ships.'

- 2 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν . . . Πελοποννήσιοι δέ: instead of genitives in apposition to ἀμφοτέρων, nominatives are used as though the first clause had been καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἀμφοτέροι κατὰ κράτος ἐπολέμουν.

ἐναντίαν: 'in opposite directions.'

καὶ ἅπασαι: καί gives emphasis, 'all without exception.'

ὁπότε ἄνεμος εἴη: these words go closely with πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέραλος, 'except (in windy weather) on the side facing the open sea.'

σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι: 'watching in case any opportunity should offer.' For εἰ in this sense cp. 11. 3.

- 24-25 *The Syracusans and their allies reinforce their fleet at Messene, hoping to capture Rhegium. They are defeated in the straits, but gain some slight advantage when attacked at Peloris and on the voyage to Messene. The Athenians sail to Camarina. The Messenians attack Naxos, but suffer heavy loss from the Naxians and Sicels. The Leontines attack Messene, and are defeated by a party sallying from the town, who in turn are routed by the Athenians. The Athenians retire to Rhegium.*

- 24 1 οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι: so all the MSS. read. The words naturally mean 'those Syracusans who were in Sicily', implying that there were other Syracusans elsewhere; and it is very harsh to separate οἱ from Συρακόσιοι and render, 'the people in Sicily, viz. the Syracusans and their allies.' Either οἱ should be transposed to stand after ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, or these words (or else Συροκόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι) should be regarded as a gloss.

ὁ παρεσκευάζοντο: 'which they had been preparing' (1. 4).

- 2 ἐνήγον: sc. τὸν πόλεμον, 'promoted it.' Contrast 21. 3 αὐτοὺς ἐνήγε, 'urged them on.'

καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐσεβέβληκεσαν: 'and they had themselves also invaded.' In the combination καὶ . . . δέ, the latter is the conjunction, the former means 'also' or 'even'. The reference here is not to the Locrian invasion mentioned in I. 3, for that had been followed by an evacuation of the Rhegian territory (I. 4); and that the Locrians were now invaders for the second time is clear from 25. 3 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Λοκροὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ῥηγίνων.

- 3 ὁρῶντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς μὲν παρούσας ὀλίγας ναῦς: ὀλίγας (sc. οὔσας) is predicative, 'seeing that the ships which the Athenians had on the spot were few in number.'

τὴν νῆσον: Sphacteria.

- 4 καὶ ἤδη σφῶν ἰσχυρὰ τὰ πράγματα γίνεσθαι: 'and that their position would then become strong.'

κειμένου: the participle refers to τῆς Μεσσήνης as well as to τοῦ Ῥηγίου, but agrees with the nearer of the two nouns.

ἀκρωτηρίου τῆς Ἰταλίας: 'the extreme point of Italy.' ἀκρωτηρίου is to be understood before τῆς Σικελίας.

οὐκ ἂν εἶναι: 'it would be impossible.' τε after τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις is doubtless repeated in error from the preceding line.

- 5 ἡ μεταξύ Ῥηγίου θάλασσα καὶ Μεσσήνης: cp. 5. 2 τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν. In both passages part of the attribute is placed between the article and the noun, part after the noun.

τοῦτο: 'this point.'

ἦ Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται διαπλεῦσαι: Homer, *Od.* xii. 234-59.

διὰ στενότητα δὲ καὶ . . . ἐσπίπτουσα . . . καὶ ῥοώδης οὔσα: three reasons are given for the evil reputation of Charybdis, the first by a preposition and case, the others by participles.

πελαγῶν: πέλαγος and πόντος are commonly used of special areas of sea, as here the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian, while θάλασσα means sea as opposed to land. The Tyrrhenian Sea is north of Sicily, the Sicilian Sea east of the island.

ἐς αὐτό: for the neuter, cp. τοῦτο above.

- I ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τᾷ μεταξύ: μεταξύ is here used of space, 'in this strait.' Similarly τὸ μεταξύ is used of the interval between two walls (iii. 21. 2), between two headlands (vii. 34. 2).

ἠναγκάσθησαν: in 24. 3, they were described as eager to fight, but they now wish to choose their own time for fighting.

ναυμαχῆσαι περὶ πλοίου: 'to fight *for* a vessel.'

ἀντεπαναγόμενοι: 'putting out (ἀνά) against the enemy (ἐπί) in return (ἀντί).' The Athenians had started in pursuit of the passing vessel, and the Syracusans now retaliate.

- 2 ἀπέπλευσαν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον: 'they sailed away, each contingent as it best could.' With ἔτυχον supply ἀποπλεύσαντες, lit. 'according as each set of men happened to sail away'. ἕκαστοι may mean 'each contingent' of the Syracusans and allies, or 'each crew'.

ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ: 'in the territory of Messene and of Rhegium'; not at Rhegium itself, which was the station of the Athenian fleet (§ 11).

τῷ ἔργῳ: 'the engagement.'

- 3 τὴν Πελωρίδα τῆς Μεσσηνίας: 'Peloris, in the territory of Messene,' the cape at the north-east corner of Sicily.
- 4 τὰς ναῦς κενάς: their crews had gone on shore.
- ἐνέβαλον: see note on 14. 1.

χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ ἐπιβληθείσῃ: instrumental dative, 'in consequence of an iron grapnel having been flung upon it.' Similar grapnels were used by the Athenian fleet at Syracuse (vii. 62. 3).

μίαν ναὺν αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν: 'they themselves lost one ship.' αὐτοῖς has more MSS. authority, but is clearly wrong, for (1) the meaning would then be 'they destroyed one ship for them', but ναὺν ἀπολλύναι in all other passages of Thucydides means 'to lose a ship'; (2) τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκολυμβησάντων would be inconsistent with τὰς ναῦς κενάς.

τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκολυμβησάντων: swimming seems to have been very common among the Greeks. At Salamis very few Greeks perished, 'because they could swim' (ἄτε νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι); they are contrasted with the Persians νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι, Hdt. viii. 89. Cp. Plato, *Laus* 689 D ἂν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον μήτε γράμματα μήτε νέειν ἐπίστανται.

- 5 παραπλεόντων ἀπὸ κάλῳ: 'being towed along shore.' The water would be too shallow for rowing.

ἀποσιμωσάντων ἐκείνων καὶ προεμβalόντων: 'the enemy swerving aside and ramming them first.' ἀποσιμώ (from σιμός, 'bent,' 'curved') does not occur elsewhere in this sense, but ἀποσιμωσις is used by Appian.

NOTES

ἀπολλύουσι : Thucydides generally uses ἀπολλύασι : cp. ὤμνον .
imperf. of ὀμνυμι, v. 19. 2, &c.

6 τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ : the fight referred to in § 4.

οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες : 'not getting the worse,' meiosis for πλέον
ἔχοντες.

7 Καμαρίνης ἀγγελθείσης προδίδοσθαι : with the personal construction
here contrast the impersonal use of ἡγγέλθη in 93. 2 and 125. 1.
Camarina, on the south coast of Sicily, was the only Dorian city
hostile to Syracuse (iii. 86. 2). Originally a colony of Syracuse, it
had been refounded by Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, and again by
Gelo (vi. 5. 3).

ταῖς ναυσίν : i. e. the fleet of Syracuse and her allies.

Νάξον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν : Naxos, on the east coast, near Mount
Etna, was the oldest Greek colony in the island ; it was founded
by settlers from Chalcis in Euboea (vi. 3. 1) and from the Aegaeian
island of Naxos about 735 B. C.

8 τειχίρεις ποιήσαντες τοὺς Ναξίους : 'having shut the Naxians
within their walls.'

περιπλεύσαντες : 'having sailed round' the promontory south of
Naxos.

τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμόν : a small stream between Naxos and Mount
Etna.

πρὸς τὴν πέλιν ἐσέβαλλον : 'made incursions in the direction of
the city.' On the ground that this was not the first incursion into
the Naxian territory, Poppo conjectured προσέβαλλον, 'attacked the
city.'

9 οἱ Σικελοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων πολλοὶ κατέβαινον : Greek settlers found
Sicily occupied by two peoples, the Sicels in the north and the
interior, the Sicans in the west and south ; both had probably
crossed from Italy (vi. 2). Many of the Sicels had revolted from
Syracuse and assisted the Athenians (iii. 103. 1), and it is they
who are here meant by οἱ Σικελοί. It is unnecessary to insert, with
Krüger, οἱ before ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων, 'the Sicilians who dwelt in the
highlands.'

ἐν ἑαυτοῖς : = ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

οἱ Λεοντῖνοι . . . καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ξύμμαχοι : Leontini, an inland
town in the plain to the south of Etna, was founded from Naxos
about 730 B. C. 'Their other Greek allies' are the inhabitants of

the various Chalcidian cities; cp. note on I. 1. Ἑλληνες is here used adjectivally for Ἑλληνικοί.

οἱ βάρβαροι: i. e. the Sicels.

10 ἕκασται: 'each contingent' of the allied fleet.

μετὰ Ἀθηναίων: these had now returned from Camarina (§ 7).

ὡς κεκακωμένην: 'regarding it as crippled.'

ἐπείρων: 'tried their fortune.'

11 μετὰ τὸ πάθος: i. e. the defeat of the Messenians near Naxos (§ 9).

τεταραγμένοις ἐπιγενόμενοι: 'having come upon them while they were in disorder.'

26 *Difficulties of the Athenians at Pylos. Supplies are secretly conveyed to the men on the island.*

2 σίτου ἀπορία: cp. 27. 1.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν κρήνη ὅτι μὴ μία: ὅτι μὴ is like ὅσα μὴ in 16. 1, ὅτι being the acc. neuter of ὅστις used adverbially; lit. 'there was not a well, in so far as (there was) not one', i. e. 'there was no well but one'. ὅτι μὴ is thus virtually equivalent to εἰ μὴ, *nisi*.

οἷον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ: 'such water as was natural (for them to find there).'

3 ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατοπεδευομένοις: because all the mainland, except Pylos, was held by the Peloponnesians.

τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσάν ὄρμον: i. e. the ships could not all anchor together near the shore, so as to allow their crews to land; the small extent of shore commanded by Pylos did not permit this.

κατὰ μέρος: 'in turn'; cp. 11. 3 ἐν τῷ μέρει. μετέωροι: cp. 14. 1.

4 ὁ χρόνος . . . παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγινόμενος: lit. 'the fact that time went on contrary to calculation', i. e. 'the unexpected prolongation of the time'. For this use of the participle cp. 5. 1 ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὢν; and for the meaning cp. i. 126. 8 χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινόμενου (the notion is that one period of time constantly *succeeds* another).

οὓς ᾤοντο: the relative is used instead of ἐπεὶ αὐτούς, very boldly, since τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ have not been mentioned since the first line of the chapter.

5 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προειπόντες: 'the fact that the Lacedaemonians had issued a proclamation'; see note on § 4. For

the agreement of the copula with the predicate cp. i. 10. 1 *Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν*.

τὸν βουλόμενον: 'any one who chose.'

ἀηλεμένον: the Attic form, for which some MSS. give ἀηλεσμένον; the latter is used by Herodotus.

τυρόν: cheese, made from the milk of ewes or goats, was part of the regular fare at the *συσσίτια* (Athenaeus 141 B).

εἴ τι ἄλλο βρῶμα, οἷ' ἂν ἐς πολιορκίαν ξυμφέρῃ: 'any other provision that is suitable for a siege,' lit. 'if (there was) any other provision, things such as are suitable', &c. Several MSS. have οἶον, an easier reading; and one has ξυμφέροι, 'such as would be suitable.'

τάξαντες ἀργυρίου πολλοῦ: lit. 'having rated (this service) at a high price'.

- 6 ἀπαίροντες ... ὁπόθεν τύχοιεν: sc. ἀπαίροντες; cp. 25. 2 ἀπέπλευσαν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον.

ἔτι νυκτός: 'while it was still night.' For the close connexion of the adverb and noun, cp. i. 30. 4 *χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν*, 'as it was now winter, they retreated.'

- 7 ὁπότε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἴη: no ships were moored on the outer side of the island on windy nights, 23. 2. The use of πόντου here for 'open sea' is exceptional; see note on 24. 5.

τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδῆς ὁ κατάπλους καθιστήκει: 'the others made their landing without regard to cost.'

τὰ πλοῖα τετιμημένα χρημάτων: 'their boats, which had had a value put upon them.'

ἐφύλασσαν: 'were watching' in order to receive the provisions.

γαλήνῃ: dative of time when. But when the noun does not itself denote time, ἐν is nearly always used.

- 8 ὕφυδροι: to be joined with ἐσένεον.

μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομμένον: according to the Scholiast, the poppy-seed mixed with honey was for satisfying hunger, the pounded linseed for quenching thirst. The poet Alcman mentions *μακωνίδες ἄρτοι*, 'poppy-flavoured loaves.'

φυλακαὶ ἐγένοντο: virtually passive of οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς ἐποίησαντο; see note on 16. 1.

- 9 οἱ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν σφᾶς: supply ἐκείνους as subject of the infinitive.

27-28 *Discouragement at Athens. Cleon tries to discredit the messengers from Pylos, and is appointed to investigate matters on the spot. He then advocates an expedition, and against his will is given the command. He promises success within twenty days. Amusement of the Athenians at his boastfulness.*

27 1 ἐσπλεῖ: 'comes in by sea'; cp. viii. 90. 5 τὸν σῖτον . . . τὸν ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ τὸν ἐσπλέοντα. ἐσπλέω is virtually passive of ἐσάγω (26. 5).

μὴ σφῶν χειμῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιλάβοι: for the position of σφῶν see note on αὐτῶν, 14. 2.

ὁρῶντες: on this word depend the participles ἐσομένην and ἐσόμενον, and from it must be supplied another participle, e.g. νομίζοντες, to account for the infinitives περιγενήσεσθαι and ἐκπλεύσεσθαι.

ἅμα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν θέρει οἰοί τε ὄντες ἱκανὰ περιπέμπειν: this clause is parenthetical, and states the reasons why the Athenians at Pylos would not get supplies in winter; though after the statement in the preceding clause we should have expected reasons why the Athenians at home could not send them. With ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ we must understand τῆς στρατιᾶς οὔσης. The passage south of Cape Malea had always great terrors for Greek sailors, so that in the four winter months hardly a messenger could reach Athens from Sicily (vi. 21. 2).

οὐκ ἐσόμενον: 'would not be possible'; cp. 13. 1 ἀποβάσεως μάλιστα οὔσης.

χειμῶνα τηρήσαντας: χειμῶνα is 'stormy weather'; χειμῶν above is 'winter'.

2 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: though this is grammatically the object of ἐφοβοῦντο, the meaning is not 'they feared the Lacedaemonians', but 'they feared in respect to the Lacedaemonians'.

ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι: 'since they thought that it was because the Lacedaemonians held a strong position that they no longer negotiated with them.' The emphasis is on the participle, not on the infinitive; cp. 3. 1.

3 κωλύμης: a word peculiar to Thucydides.

Θεαγένοῦς: or Θεογένους; perhaps the same who swore to the Peace of Nicias (v. 19. 2).

4 ταῦτά λέγειν οἷς διέβαλλεν: 'to say the same things as the men whom he was misrepresenting.' οἷς = τούτοις οὖς.

ψευδῆς φανήσεσθαι: 'to be proved a liar.' The future infinitive after ἀναγκασθήσεται, instead of the present or aorist, may be compared with the fut. in dependence on verbs of 'wishing', 'intending', 'being able'—a common construction in Thucydides.

ὠρμημένους τι τὸ πλεόν τῇ γνώμῃ: 'considerably more eager in their minds.' τὸ πλεόν is often equivalent to μᾶλλον; for the use of τι cp. 21. 3 δεομένων τι μᾶλλον σπονδῶν.

5 Νικίαν: see Introduction, p. xxxiii.

ῥάδιον εἶναι: the infinitive depends either (1) on ἀπεσήμενεν, 'he said with a side reference to Nicias that it was easy,' or (2) on ἐπιτιμῶν, 'he made side reference to Nicias, saying tauntingly that it was easy.'

παρασκευῇ: 'with an armament.'

εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοί: for the emphatic use of ἄνδρες, cp. Hdt. vii. 210 πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες (of an Oriental force).

εἰ ἦρχε: 'if he had been in office,' i.e. if he had been one of the ten στρατηγοί. Cleon was an ἰδιώτης (cp. 2. 4, where the word is used of Demosthenes).

28 I τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων: 'when the Athenians raised some slight clamour.' ὑποθορυβέω is found only here; ὑπο- probably means 'slightly' or 'gradually'.

ὅτι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖ: 'because he did not sail even as matters were' (i.e. even though he was not in office). Many editors take ὅτι to introduce an indirect question, '(asking) why he did not sail'; they compare the direct question given by Plutarch, *Nicias* 7 τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας;

τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι: 'so far as they (the generals) were concerned.' τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς is lit. 'that which depended on them'; cp. Eur. *Hec.* 514 ἡμεῖς δ' ἄτεκνοι τοῦπὶ σ', Eur. *Or.* 1345 σώθηθ' ὅσον γε τοῖπ' ἔμ'. The infinitive εἶναι is added as in ἐκὼν εἶναι, which is lit. 'so far as being willing goes'. ἐπί with the dative is used in the same sense, e. g. τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, viii. 48. 6.

ἐπιχειρεῖν: either 'to try', or 'to attack' (the men on the island).

2 λόγῳ μόνον: 'only in pretence,' opposed to τῷ ὄντι, 'in reality.' The favourite antithesis of Thucydides is λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ.

ἀφιέναι: sc. τὴν ἀρχήν (i.e. 'the command at Pylos'), which is to be understood also with παραδωσείοντα.

παρὰδωσείοντα : παρὰδωσείω is the desiderative verb formed from παρὰδίδωμι. Other desiderative verbs in Thucydides are πολεμῆσείω, ἀπαλλαξείω, ξυμβησείω, ναυμαχησείω.

οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενός οἱ αὐτὸν τολμῆσαι ὑποχωρῆσαι : 'supposing that Nicias would not dare to make way for him,' for that would be to shirk his responsibility as στρατηγός.

- 3 οἶον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν : cp. ii. 65. 4 ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὄμιλος ποιεῖν (of the fickleness of the multitude towards Pericles) ; vi. 63. 2 οἶον δὲ ὄχλος φιλεῖ θαρσύνεσθαι ποιεῖν (of the Syracusans) ; viii. 1. 4 ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν (of good order at Athens produced by fear).

ὅσῳ μᾶλλον . . . τόσῳ : sc. μᾶλλον. τόσος is hardly found in Attic prose except in the dative denoting measure of difference.

ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα : 'tried to back out of what he had said.'

- 4 οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως . . . ἐξαπαλλαγῇ : deliberative subjunctive ; 'not knowing how to get rid.'

παρελθών : 'coming forward' to the βῆμα ; the word is regularly used of speakers addressing the Assembly.

Λημνίους δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρίους τοὺς παρόντας : the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, in the north of the Aegean, were taken from the Persians by Miltiades, and made over to Athenian settlers (κληροῦχοι).

καὶ πελταστὰς οἱ ἦσαν ἐκ τε Αἰνίου βεβοηθηκότες : πελτασταί, 'targeteers,' so called from the πέλτη or light leather shield which they carried. They formed a class of troops intermediate between ὀπλίται and ψιλοί. Like the latter, they had no metal armour, but wore tunics of quilted linen, and carried javelins ; like the former, they had swords, and thus could fight hand-to-hand as well as harass the enemy from a distance. The πέλτη was Thracian ; and all the peltasts mentioned in Thucydides (with one exception, iv. 93. 3) are either Thracians or inhabitants of the Greek colonies in Thrace or Chalcidice. Aenos was an Aeolian settlement at the mouth of the Hebrus in Thrace. The position of τε is generally explained by displacement from its proper position after πελταστὰς.

ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρακοσίους : Crete supplied many bowmen (vi. 25. 2).

ταῦτα δὲ ἔχων : 'with these materials,' the troops being viewed as instruments.

- 5 ἐνέπεσε μὲν τι καὶ γίλωτος : 'they were moved to a certain extent

to laughter,' lit. 'there fell upon them something even of laughter.'

ἀσμένους δ' ὅμως ἐγίνετο τοῖς σώφροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων: 'but still sensible men felt pleased.' For the use of the dative cp. βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστι = βούλομαι (cp. 80. 2); other words similarly used are ἡδόμενος, προσδεχόμενος, ἀχθόμενος.

τοῦ ἐτέρου: 'one or other,' Lat. *alteruter*.

ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι . . . χειρώσεσθαι: these infinitives are explanatory of τοῦ ἐτέρου, and in tense are accommodated to τεύξεσθαι as though they depended on λογιζόμενοις.

ἤλπιζον: 'they expected.'

σφαλεῖσι γνώμης: 'if they were baulked of their expectation.' σφάλεσθαι is also used with a dative; cp. 18. 2 γνώμη σφαλέντες.

Λακεδαιμονίουσ σφίσι χειρώσεσθαι: as σφέις is generally an indirect reflexive, many editors supply τὸν Κλέωνα as subject of the infinitive; but it is simpler to regard σφίσι as a direct reflexive (cp. σφῶν, 8. 2), and to render 'that they would bring the Lacedaemonians into subjection to themselves.'

29-31 *Demosthenes was already planning an attack on Sphacteria, an accidental fire having destroyed most of the trees on the island and rendered the attempt safer. The Lacedaemonians having refused to surrender the men, Cleon and Demosthenes land 800 hoplites on Sphacteria. The three positions occupied by the Spartans.*

29 1 πάντα διαπραξάμενος: 'having carried everything through.'

τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἓνα προσελόμενος Δημοσθένη: 'having chosen as his colleague.' Demosthenes, who was *ιδιώτης* at the time of the occupation of Pylos, must have been elected *στρατηγός* in the interval.

τὴν ἀναγωγὴν . . . ἐποιεῖτο = ἀνήγετο, 'prepared to put to sea' (imperfect of endeavour). Here the true reading is preserved by C alone; the other MSS. have τὴν ἀγωγὴν . . . ἐποιεῖτο, which would be equivalent to ἦγε or ἦγετο. There is no evidence for the meaning 'voyage' ascribed to ἀγωγή.

2 τὴν ἀπόβασιν . . . ἐς τὴν νῆσον: 'the landing on the island' contemplated by Cleon in 27. 4 and 28. 4.

διανοεῖσθαι: only here with a noun as object; elsewhere Thucy-

dides uses the verb with a neuter pronoun (e.g. 13. 4 and 22. 2) or with an infinitive.

μᾶλλον πολιορκούμενοι ἢ πολιορκούντες: similar language is used in the letter of Nicias from Syracuse, vii. 11. 4 ξυμβέβηκέ τε πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἄλλους αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, ὅσα γε κατὰ γῆν, τοῦτο πάσχειν. Thucydides is fond of playing upon words in this way; cp. 62. 2 ὑπεριδεῖν . . . προῖδεῖν; 74. 4 ἐκ στάσεως μετὰστασις.

ῥώμην: 'encouragement,' 'confidence'; cp. 36. 2 ἐπέρρωσεν.

ἡ νήσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα: 'the burning of the island'; cp. 5. 1 ὁ στρατὸς . . . ὤν, and 26. 4 ὁ χρόνος . . . ἐπιγιγνώμενος.

- 3 πρότερον μὲν γάρ: this is answered by τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, 30. 2. ἰλῶδους ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀτριβοῦς: a more guarded statement than that in 8. 6 ἰλῶδης τε καὶ ἀτριβῆς πᾶσα.

πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων: cp. 10. 2 πρὸς ἡμῶν.

πολλῶ . . . στρατοπέδῳ: 'a large force.' πολὺς is often used with collective nouns; cp. i. 13. 6 πολὺ γίγνεται ναυτικόν; iv. 101. 2 πολὺς ἀριθμός; vi. 24. 3 πολὺς ὄμιλος. The dative is governed by προσβαλλοντας.

ἂν . . . βλάπτειν: the infinitives throughout this section depend on ἐνόμιζε.

ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης: ὑπό with gen., as often, of a hindering cause (*φραε σίλνα*).

οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δῆλα εἶναι: 'would not be so evident (as they otherwise would be).'

ὥστε προσπίπτειν ἂν αὐτοὺς . . . ἣ βούλιντο: the infinitive with ἂν, in dependence on ὥστε, expresses a consequence in a potential form, corresponding here to the optative with ἂν. The clause ἣ βούλιντο represents ἣ ἂν βούλωνται in the direct speech.

ἐπ' ἐκείνοις: in their power.'

- 4 εἰ δ' αὖ ἐς δασὺ χωρίον βιάζοιτο ὁμόσε ἰέναι: 'if, on the other hand, he should force his way into wooded ground to close with them.' The middle βιάζομαι is constructed with an infin. also in vii. 79. 1 ἐβιάσαντο πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐλθεῖν. To take βιάζοιτο as passive destroys the sense; for the presupposition in this sentence is that the enemy are *not* attacking.

λανθάνειν τε ἂν . . . διαφθειρόμενον: 'would be destroyed unawares.'

οὐκ οὕσης τῆς προσόψεως ἣ χρῆν ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν: 'it being

impossible to see at what point they ought to be helping one another.' For οὔσης cp. note on 13. 1; lit. 'the view not being possible.' For προσόψεως Poppo conjectured προόψεως, 'seeing in front'; but in v. 8. 3 ἀνευ προσόψεως, the word means 'foresight', 'seeing beforehand.' The imperfect χρῆν implies the denial of the action of the infinitive, 'they ought to be helping (but are not doing so).'

- 30 I ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ πάθους: at Aegitium in Aetolia, in 426 B.C., the forces of Demosthenes were routed by the Aetolians, about 120 Athenian hoplites ('the best men whom Athens lost in this war,' says Thucydides) being among the slain. The disaster was due mainly to the lack of light-armed troops and to ignorance of the country (iii. 97, 98).

διὰ τὴν ὕλην: 'the greater number missed their way and rushed into the forest, which had no outlets, and the Aetolians brought fire and burnt the forest about them' (iii. 98. 2).

μέρος τι: 'to some extent,' 'in part.'

αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐσήει: 'these thoughts occurred to him.'

- 2 τῆς νήσου τοῖς ἐσχάτοις: 'the edges of the island.'

ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι: 'to take lunch.' ἄριστον, which in Homeric times was taken at sunrise, was now taken towards midday; the light breakfast of bread and undiluted wine being called ἀκράτισμα.

διὰ προφυλακῆς: 'with sentries posted in advance.' For διὰ with gen. denoting the attendant circumstances cp. 8. 8 δι' ὀλίγης παρασκευῆς.

ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης: κατὰ μικρὸν is virtually one word, object of ἐμπρήσαντος; cp. 3. 2 ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας.

ἀπὸ τούτου: 'thereupon, 'immediately after this,' with πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου. The order of the words is against joining this expression with ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν in the sense 'in consequence of this', an interpretation which involves either (1) the omission of καί, or (2) the alteration of καί to ἐπεί, with a comma after κατακαυθέν.

- 3 μᾶλλον κατιδών: 'perceiving better (than he had hitherto been able to do).'

ὕπονοῶν . . . ἐσπέμπειν: this clause is parenthetical. ἐλάσσοσι: 'for a smaller number' than was stated at the time when the truce was made. αὐτοῦ is generally taken as equivalent to αὐτόσε with εἰσπέμπειν, but there is no parallel for such a use; hence it has

been altered to αὐτόσε or αὐτούς, the latter meaning 'the L. on the mainland'. If αὐτοῦ is retained, the subject of ἐσπέμπειν is Demosthenes, to whom the action could be attributed as well as to the Lacedaemonians.

τότε ὡς ἐπ' ἀξιοχρεῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν παρεσκευάζετο: 'he then made preparations for the attack, as for an object worthy of greater zeal on the part of the Athenians.' ὡς indicates that this was the belief of Demosthenes; the acc. and infin. τοὺς Ἀ. . . ποιεῖσθαι depends on ἀξιοχρεῶν. [In the MSS. the words τότε . . . ποιεῖσθαι stand immediately after ἐσπέμπειν, and depend either on κατιδών or on ὑπονοῶν, the necessary conjunction being provided by reading (1) τό τε, or (2) τότε δέ. But (1) it is very awkward to have κατιδών governing first a participle ὄντας, then a neuter article with infinitive, and lastly another participle οὖσαν; (2) the words introduced by τότε δέ do not form a good antithesis to the preceding clause.]

- 4 προπέμψας ἄγγελον ὡς ἥξων: 'having sent on a messenger to announce his intended arrival,' lit. 'as being about to arrive'.

στρατιὰν ἣν ῥτήσατο: cp. 28. 4.

ἅμα γενόμενοι: 'having met,' equivalent to συγγενόμενοι; for the adverb with γίγνεσθαι, cp. i. 64. I γενομένοις δίχα, 'if they separated.'

εἰ βούλονται: the indirect form of εἰ βούλεσθε after the *historic* present πέμπουσι. The following verbs, τηρήσονται and ξυμβαθῇ, are retained from the direct form.

ἄνευ κινδύνου: 'without further risk' (incurred by fighting).

ἐφ' ᾧ: 'on condition that.' ἐφ' ᾧ and ἐφ' ᾧτε are constructed either with the future indicative or (more commonly) with the present or aorist infinitive.

φυλακῇ τῇ μετρίᾳ: 'with the (usual) reasonable surveillance.' In this arrangement of the words stress is put on the adjective; cp. 10. I κινδύνου τοῦ ταχίστου.

ἕως ἄν τι περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ: 'until some agreement should be come to on the wider question.' τοῦ πλέονος means the larger subject of the war as a whole, in contrast with the operations at Pylos; cp. 117. I ξυμβῆναι τὰ πλείω.

- 31 I νυκτός: the start took place before dark, for it was seen by the men on the island (32. 1).

ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιβιβάσαντες: this arrangement was

for convenience, as there was to be an interval between the landing of the hoplites and of the other troops (32. 2). The hoplites consisted of ἐπιβάται from the ships, and Lemnians and Imbrians.

πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος : 'on the side facing the harbour.'

- 2 διετετάχατο : for the termination cp. iii. 13. 3 ἐφθάρηται and τετάχεται. The endings -ται and -ατο in the perf. and pluperf. of verbs with stem ending in a consonant are regular in Ionic, but are very rarely found in Attic prose.

τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ : i. e. the first, reckoning from the south end of the island.

μέσον : often used by Thucydides without the article ; 'the centre.'

περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ : 'around the spring' ; the water was brackish (26. 4).

αὐτὸ τὸ ἔσχατον : 'the very end' ; cp. 9. 4 πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ γάρ . . . καί : 'for in fact . . . also.'

λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον : 'made of unhewn stones' ; cp. note on 4. 2 λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους. λίθων is gen. of material. Remains of old fortifications are still visible at the north end of Sphagia.

εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιότερα : 'if they were hard pressed and forced to retreat,' lit. 'if a retreat more (than usually) hard pressed should befall them.' For this sense of καταλαμβάνειν cp. 20. 1.

οὕτω μὲν : asyndeton ; cp. 16. 3 αἱ μὲν σπονδαί.

- 32 *Capture of the first position. Landing of the main body of the Athenians, and their disposition by Demosthenes.*

- I ἐν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα : i. e. some were still in their beds, while others were snatching up their arms. In all the MSS. καί stands, not before ἀναλαμβάνοντας, but before λαθόντες : we must then render ἀναλαμβάνοντας, 'on the point of seizing.' [Steup's suggestion that εὐναῖς means 'tents' is improbable.]

λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν : 'having landed unobserved.' τὴν ἀπόβασιν is acc. of respect. The acc. of the direct object occurs along with this in vii. 15. 2 τὰ μὲν λήσουσιν ὑμᾶς, . . . τὰ δὲ φθήσονται.

ἐς ἔφορμον τῆς νυκτός : 'to maintain the blockade for the night' : cp. 23. 2.

- 2 νεῶν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεόνων: the number 70, given in 23. 2, had been increased by the few ships that Cleon brought with him.

θαλαμῶν: according to the ordinary theory that the trireme had three tiers of oars, *θαλαμοί* or *θαλαμίται* were the rowers of the lowest tier, and were so called because they sat in the hold (*θάλαμος*). The more recent view is that three men, seated on one bench, worked three oars passing through the same port-hole; the *θαλαμῖος* then was the man who sat nearest to the port-hole (*θαλαμῆς*, Hdt. v. 33). The regular number of *θαλαμοί* in each trireme was 54; there were also 54 *ζυγῖται* and 62 *θρανῖται*.

ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐσκευασμένοι: 'equipped as they severally were,' i.e. without uniformity.

τοξόται δὲ ὀκτακόσιοι: all the MSS. have *τε*, which is found in a few other passages of Thucydides, and occasionally in the tragedians after a clause with *μέν*. But *δέ* is necessary here to express the contrast between the two great divisions of rowers and of soldiers, the subdivisions of the latter being indicated by *καὶ . . . τε . . . καί*. Cleon brought 400 archers with him (28. 4): the other 400 may have been with Demosthenes before (cp. 9. 2).

Μεσσηνίων τε οἱ βεβηθηκότες: cp. 9. 1 and 13. 2.

κατείχον: 'were stationed,' lit. 'were holding (their position)'. He is referring to the allies mentioned in 30. 3.

- 3 δίστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους: 'were divided (lit. stood apart) into bodies of 200 *or* more.' *τε καί* indicates that bodies of different size existed *side by side*; the English idiom regards them as alternatives.

ἔστι δ' ἦ: 'and in some cases'; cp. *εἰσὶν οἳ, sunt qui*.

λαβόντες: Cobet conjectured *καταλαβόντες*, on the ground that Thucydides uses *λαμβάνειν* to mean 'capture' from the enemy, never in the sense of 'occupy'.

ἔχουσι: this reading is preferable to *ἔχουσι*, which has arisen from the other dative preceding. If *ἔχουσι* were right, we should expect *καὶ* (instead of *ἀλλ'*) *ἀμφίβολοι*. *ἔχουσι* means 'know', and is constructed with a dependent question in the deliberative subjunctive.

ἀμφίβολοι γίνωνται τῷ πλήθει: 'they might be exposed to missiles on all sides, in consequence of the number (of the Athenian force).'

ἐκατέρωθεν: not 'on both sides', but 'on one or other of the two sides'; cp. 16. 2 ἐκάτεροι. If the Spartans attacked the Athenians who were on their right flank, they would be assailed by the Athenians who were on their left flank, and vice versa.

- 4 κατὰ νότου τε αἰεὶ ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς, ἧ χωρήσειαν, οἱ πολέμιοι ἔσεσθαι ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπορώτατοι: 'and wherever they advanced, they were sure always to have in their rear the enemy's light-armed troops, and those too the most troublesome.' The rest of the ψιλοὶ were on the flanks (33. 1). ἀπορος is used of persons who are 'hard to deal with'; cp. Plato, *Αῤολ.* 18 D οἱτοι (sc. οἱ κατήγοροι) πάντες ἀπορώτατοί εἰσιν, and the explanation of Suidas πρὸς οὓς οὐδένα πόρον ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. The other possible meaning, 'the most helpless,' i. e. 'the worst equipped', has less point. [Classen puts a comma after πολέμιοι instead of after χωρήσειαν, and brackets καί; 'and wherever the enemy advanced, they were sure to have in their rear the most troublesome light-armed troops.' He argues (1) that πολέμιοι must refer to the same persons as πολεμίοις in the preceding sentence, and (2) that Thucydides does not use πολέμιος adjectivally with nouns denoting persons.]

ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκήν: 'for they could fight (lit. they had fighting power) from a great distance.'

οἷς μὴδὲ ἐπελθεῖν οἶόν τε ἦν: the negative is μὴδέ, not οὐδέ, either because the relative is generic, 'men such as it was impossible even to approach,' or because it is joined with the infinitive instead of with the principal verb.

ἐκράτουν: 'they had the advantage,' because of the long range of their weapons.

ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν: 'he made his dispositions in the action (engagement)'; cp. 25. 2.

33-35 *The main body of the Spartans are driven back upon the third position, where there is a protracted struggle.*

- 33 I καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ: 'those in fact who formed the main body of the men on the island.' For the use of the neuter adj. of a body of men, cp. 96. 4 τὸ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἡσῶτο τῶν Βοιωτῶν. καὶ introduces, not an additional fact, but another aspect of the same fact; cp. 35. 4 χρόνον μὲν πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον.

- 2 τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ: cp. i. 121. 2, where the Peloponnesians are described by the Corinthian envoys as πλήθει προύχοντας καὶ ἐμπειρία πολεμικῇ; and ii. 89. 2 οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι θαρσοῖσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες (speech of Phormio).

ἐκεῖνοι: i.e. οἱ ὁπλῖται τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ἢ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέοντες προσκείμεντο: 'wherever they pressed them hardest in their onset.' The optative expresses indefinite frequency, corresponding to the imperfect ἔτρεπον.

καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἡμύνοντο: 'and they, wheeling round, defended themselves.' The use of *ὅς, ἡ, ὅ* as a demonstrative pronoun survives in Attic Greek chiefly in the nom. sing. masc. in the expressions καὶ *ὅς* and *ἡ δ' ὅς* ('said he'); for the plural cp. 68. 6 καὶ οἱ ξυστραφέντες.

ἄνθρωποι κούφως τε ἐσκευασμένοι . . . ὅπλα ἔχοντες: these concluding lines of the section give the reason why the light-armed troops could wheel round and defend themselves, but the relation of the various clauses is not certain. The question turns on the interpretation of *τε* after *χωρίων*. (1) If this means 'and', then it corresponds to the *τε* after *κούφως*, the first cause being expressed by the words *κούφως . . . φυγῆς*, the second by the words *χωρίων . . . ὄντων*. (2) If it means 'both', it is answered by the *καί* before *ὑπό*, and the words *χωρίων . . . ὄντων* go closely with *προλαμβάνοντες ῥαδίως τῆς φυγῆς*. The second explanation seems preferable, though it involves an awkwardness of construction in the words καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἐρημίας τραχέων ὄντων (see below).

προλαμβάνοντες ῥαδίως τῆς φυγῆς: 'easily getting the start in their flight.' The genitive is partitive; cp. 47. 3 ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ, and 60. 2 τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . προκοπτόντων.

τραχέων ὄντων: genitive absolute in agreement with *χωρίων* repeated in thought; lit. 'both on account of the difficulty of the ground, and (the ground) being rugged in consequence of the former absence of population'. The other view gives a smoother construction: 'and on account of the difficulty of the ground, which was also rugged,' &c.

ὅπλα ἔχοντες: see note on 9. I.

- 34 I ἢ προσπίπτοιεν: sc. οἱ ψιλοί.

τῷ ἀμύνασθαι: 'in consequence of their defence,' not 'at defending themselves', which would require the infin. without the article.

τῇ τε ὅψει τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον εἰληφότες πολλαπλάσιοι φαινόμενοι: 'having derived most of their confidence from the use of their eyes, as they appeared many times as numerous (as their adversaries).'

καὶ ξυνειθισμένοι . . . φαίνεσθαι: 'and having become more accustomed to regard them no longer as so formidable.' The acc. and infin. αὐτοὺς σφίσι φαίνεσθαι, 'that they should appear to them,' is substituted for an active infin. νομίζειν. ὁμοίως is correlative to ὥσπερ.

ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας: '(losses) corresponding to their expectation.'

τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους: sc. ἰόντες, 'cowed in spirit at the thought of marching against Spartans.' Cp. vii. 71. 3 τὴν γνώμην μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο (of spectators of the sea-fight at Syracuse).

ἄθρόοι: with ἐμβοήσαντες; cp. II2. I.

2 τοιαύτης μάχης: 'such a mode of fighting'; cp. iii. 95. 3 μάχης τε ἐμπειρία τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ χωρίων.

ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω: 'continued to rise in clouds.' For πολὺς cp. 22. 2.

τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ: 'what was in front of one.' αὐτοῦ refers to the unexpressed subject (τινά) of the infinitive.

φερομένων: 'speeding.'

3 πῖλοι: 'felt caps,' strengthened with metal plates. Many editors interpret 'felt jerkins', but there seems to be no good authority for this, and Aelian expressly distinguishes the πῖλος Λακωνικός from the body armour.

δοράτιά τε ἐναπέκλαστο βαλλομένων: 'and darts remained broken off in (their armour) when the men were hit.' As ἐν- can hardly refer to the πῖλοι, Steup suggests that some words such as ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσι πολλὰ have been lost after δοράτιά τε.

εἶχόν τε οὐδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι: 'and they could not make any use of their powers'; cp. Plato, *Crito* 45 B οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις . . . ὅτι χρῶς σαυτῷ, 'you would not know what to do with yourself.'

ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ ὅψει τοῦ προορᾶν: 'being prevented from seeing in front of them.' τῇ ὅψει, 'in respect of their sight,' is redundant, but serves to emphasize the contrast between seeing and hearing; cp. iii. II2. 4 οὐ καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει.

τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα: 'the orders that were being given in their own ranks.'

καθ' ὅτι χρή ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι : 'in what way they ought to defend themselves in order to effect their escape.' The participle gives the principal idea ; cp. 3. 1 ; 27. 2. The dependent question stands rather awkwardly after οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα, on the analogy of οὐκ ἔχοντες in the sense of ἀποροῦντες.

35 I ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ : 'on the same ground.'

ἀναστρέφεισθαι : Lat. *versari*.

ξυγκλήσαντες : 'closing their ranks,' so that each man might have his exposed side protected by the shield of his comrade on the right ; cp. v. 71. I νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ξυγκλήσεως εὐσκεπαστότατον εἶναι.

2 ἐνέδοσαν : 'they gave way.'

παρὰ πᾶν . . . ἧπερ : 'at every point where.'

3 περίοδον μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν . . . οὐκ εἶχον : 'were unable to march round and encircle them.' εἶχον, 'had not (in their power),' as commonly with the infinitive.

ᾤσασθαι : cp. II. 3 ᾤσάμενοι.

4 χρόνον μὲν πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον : for the use of καί, 'in fact,' see note on 33. 1.

δίψης : they were now away from the spring in the centre of the island (31. 2). The MSS. here vary between δίψης and δίψους ; in ii. 49. 5 all good MSS. have δίψη, in vii. 87. 2 they have δίψει.

οὐκ οὔσης σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως ἐς τὰ πλάγια : 'it being impossible to surround them on the flanks.' For οὔσης, cp. 13. 1.

36 *The Spartans are attacked from the rear and forced to give way.*

I ἀπείραντον ἦν : 'there was no end to it.' The subject is vague, perhaps τὸ ἔργον.

ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγός : Pausanias (iv. 26. 2) gives his name as Κόμων.

ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς : the nominative σφεῖς is generally used of 'the speaker and his companions', but instances of the acc. are not rare.

περιεῖναι κατὰ νότου αὐτοῖς : 'to come round down upon their rear.' περιεῖναι is the infinitive of purpose, in dependence on δοῦναι.

ὁδῶ ἢ ἂν αὐτὸς εὔρη : ἧ, instead of ἦν, by attraction to the case of the antecedent.

δοκεῖν βιάσασθαι : 'he thought that he would force.' All the MSS. have βιάσασθαι, which might mean, 'he intended to force.'

- 2 ἀήτήσατο: for the neuter cp. 28. 4 ταῦτα δὲ ἔχων.

ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς: 'from a point that was invisible' (to the enemy).

κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρείκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου: 'by way of such parts of the cliff as permitted.' αἰεὶ is 'from time to time'; cp. 68. 1 ὁ αἰεὶ ἐντὸς γιγνόμενος.

καὶ ἥ: see note on 33. 1.

- 3 ξυμπτώματι: equivalent to ξυντυχία, which Thucydides uses in several other passages; cp. the corresponding verb ξυνέπεσε (= ξυνέβη), 68. 3.

ὥς... εἰκάσαι: see note on 14. 3 ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὥς εἰκάσαι is common in the sense of 'so far as one can guess'. With the expression in the text cp. Hdt. ii. 10 ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν.

ἐκεῖνοί τε γάρ: it seems best to regard the explanatory sentence introduced by γάρ as continued to the end of the chapter, so that οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι is left without a verb. Many editors treat the words ἐκεῖνοί τε... οὗτοί τε as a parenthesis, thus obtaining a verb (ἀντεῖχον) for οἱ Λ.; but διεφθάρησαν is inapplicable to the Spartans at Sphacteria.

τῇ ἀτραπῷ: the path by which Ephialtes guided the force of Hydarnes (Hdt. vii. 213 sqq.).

ἀσθενεία: causal dative, answering to the participle μαχόμενοι.

διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν: these words go closely with ἀσθενεία σωμάτων.

ἐκράτουν: 'were masters.' κρατῶ and νικῶ often mean 'I am victorious', 'I have conquered,' the present having a perfect sense.

37-38 Cleon and Demosthenes stop the attack, and call upon the Spartans to surrender. After communicating with the mainland they consent to do so. Number of the prisoners.

- 37 1 γνούς δὲ... [ὅτι]... διαφθαρησομένους αὐτοῦς: a mixture of ὅτι διαφθαρίσονται with διαφθαρησομένους. Similarly, in v. 46. 3, ὅτι is followed by an infinitive. [ὅτι is found in all the MSS. except the Oxyrhynchus papyrus for which see Introduction, p. xxiii.]

ὅποσονοῦν: 'ever so little,' lit. 'to any extent whatsoever.' The suffix -οῦν converts the relative into an indefinite pronoun.

εἰ πως: see note on 11. 3. This clause goes closely with ἀπεῖρξαν, the intervening words βουλόμενοι... ᾧζοντας being parenthetical.

τοῦ κηρύγματος : 'their proclamation,' i.e. the proclamation which they intended to make.

τῇ γνώμῃ : 'their determination' to die rather than surrender.

τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι : these words have probably come in by mistake from the following line. If they are correct, the infin. is consecutive, 'so as to surrender.'

ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ : 'might yield to the danger which confronted them.' The gen. is used with verbs which imply comparison. For the meaning cp. Lysias, *Epitaphios*, 78 ἢ τε φύσις καὶ νόσων ἦττων καὶ γήρως, 'a prey to sickness and old age.'

2 ὥστε βουλευσαί : 'on condition that they should decide.' ὥστε = ἐφ' ᾧ τε.

ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ : see note on 15. 1. ἐκείνοις refers to Ἀθηναίοις, the Athenian people at Athens, who are remote from the speakers.

38 1 παρήκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας : 'dropped their shields.' Thucydides uses weak as well as strong aorist forms in compounds of ἵημι ; cp. vii. 19. 4 ἀφῆκαν ; v. 32. 4 ἀνείσαν ; v. 81. 1 ἀφείσαν.

τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν : 'waved their hands above their heads,' to show that they had laid down their arms.

δηλοῦντες προσίσθαι : δηλώ is regularly constructed with a participle ; but the infin. is used here in order to avoid the juxtaposition of two participles.

ἐκείνων : 'of their number,' 'on the part of the enemy.'

τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν . . . ἐφηρημένον : 'who had been chosen as his successor' (before this detachment was sent across from the mainland). ἐφηρημένος = Lat. *suffectus*.

κειμένου ὡς τεθνεώτος : 'lying for dead.' ὡς shows that this was the belief at the moment.

κατὰ νόμον : 'in accordance with custom.' This practice of appointing a commander with two others in reserve appears also in iii. 100. 2, and 109. 1 Μενεδάιος δὲ . . . Εὐρυλόχου τεθνεώτος καὶ Μακαρίου αὐτὸς παρεληφώς τὴν ἀρχήν.

εἴ τι ἐκείνοι πάσχοιεν : see note on 15. 2.

3 καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα ἀφέντων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καλούντων . ἐκείνων (partitive genitive) means 'the Lacedaemonians'; both the participles agree with τῶν Ἀθηναίων ; and καλοῦντων is the imperfect participle. [Others regard ἐκείνων as referring to the Athenians, and strike out τῶν Ἀθηναίων as a gloss ; ἀφέντων then agrees with ἐκείνων.]

ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας : cp. δ. 9 οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι (διαβάντες).

ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι : ὅτι is sometimes used to introduce a report of the actual words used by the speaker ; cp. i. 137. 4 ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή ὅτι 'Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, κτλ.'

αὐτούς : adding emphasis to περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.

μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας : 'provided that you do nothing dishonourable'; a hint that they should die rather than surrender.

- 4 διεσκευάζοντο : the preposition seems to indicate the *variety* of preparations which were necessary. This is the only passage where the compound occurs in Thucydides.

ὥς ἐς πλοῦν : see note on 13. 3 ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν.

τοῖς τριηράρχοις : the chief duty of an Athenian trierarch was to keep the vessel assigned to him in good repair ; the navigation was managed by the κυβερνήτης.

- 5 σταδαία : 'fought at close quarters.' This (the Attic form ; cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 240 ἔγχη σταδαία) is preserved by the Oxyrhynchus papyrus ; all the other MSS. have σταδία. For the meaning of the word cp. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 313 Τεῦκρός θ', ὅς ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν | τοξοσύνη, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν σταδίῃ ὑσμήνῃ ; and Thuc. vii. 81. 5 τοιαύταις δὲ προσβολαῖς καὶ οὐ ξυσταδὸν μάχαις οἱ Συρακούσιοι εἰκότως ἐχρῶντο.

9-40 *Duration of the blockade. The Athenians and Peloponnesians retire from Pylos. Impression made upon the Greeks by the surrender.*

- 1 τῆς ναυμαχίας : see c. 14.

- 2 τοῖς ἐσπλείουσι λάθρα : see note on ἐσπλεῖ, 27. 1.

ἐνδεεστέρως . . . ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν : 'more sparingly than he might have done.' πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν is lit. 'in proportion to his ability'.

- 3 οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι : the contrast to this does not come till the beginning of c. 41 κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, the intervening chapter being inserted afterwards by the author.

τῷ στρατῷ : of the Athenian force part only returned to Athens, viz. that which Cleon had brought with him ; a garrison was left at Pylos (41. 2), and the fleet of Eurymedon proceeded to Corcyra (46. 1).

καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα : see Introduction, p. xxxiv.

- 0 I παρὰ γνώμην τε δὴ : τε connects this sentence with what has preceded, and δὴ emphasizes the words παρὰ γνώμην.

τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους οὔτε λιμῶ οὔτ' ἀνάγκη οὐδεμιᾷ ἡξίουσαν τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι : 'they had been expecting the L. not to surrender their weapons either because of famine or under any other constraint.' οὐκ ἀξιῶ (cp. οὐ φημι, οὐκ ἐῶ) is far more common than ἀξιῶ μῆ; hence the negatives οὔτε... οὔτε. For the force of the imperfect cp. *παρεσκευάζοντο*, 2. 2, and 24. 1. The reference in *τοὺς Λ.* is to the Spartans in Sphacteria, not to the Spartans in general.

ἔχοντας : sc. τὰ ὅπλα.

ὥς ἐδύναντο : this being a subordinate clause in a sentence which states the thought of the Greeks (virtual *oratio obliqua*), the present tense δύνανται of the direct form would regularly be retained. Occasionally, however, the past indicative is used, from the point of view of the writer.

- 2 ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι : μῆ with the infin. reinforces the negative idea conveyed by ἀπιστοῦντες. After the participle we should expect a plural verb; but the genitive absolute καὶ τινος ἐρομένου leads to a change of construction.

δι' ἀχθηδόνα : 'in order to annoy him.' For διὰ with acc. in the sense of ἔνεκα with gen., indicating purpose. cp. ii. 89. 4 Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἡγούμενοι τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν ἄκοντας, and v. 53 ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν ἐσβαλοῦντες ('in order to exact payment of the sacrifice').

εἰ οἱ τεθνεώτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ καγαθοί : sc. ἦσαν. The implication is that the survivors were not καλοὶ καγαθοί.

τὸν ἄτρακτον : the word means both 'spindle' and 'arrow', both being made of reed. In the mouth of the Spartan it may have expressed contempt for the archer as compared with the hoplite; or it may have been merely a Laconian idiom.

λέγων : 'meaning.'

ὁ ἐντυγχάνων : either (1) 'any chance person', cp. 132. 3 τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν; or (2) 'any one who came in the way', with τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι in dependence.

- 41 *The prisoners are kept in custody at Athens. Pylos is garrisoned by Messenians from Naupactus. The Lacedaemonians make repeated overtures without success.*

- I μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβῶσιν : see note on 16. 2.

- 2 ὥς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην: equivalent to ἐς ταύτην ὥς ἐς πατρίδα, 'to this, which they regarded as their native district.' With the order of words in the text, it is idiomatic to express the preposition only once.

ἔστι γὰρ ἡ Πύλος . . . γῆς: cp. 3. 2.

Λακωνικὴν . . . ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες: see notes on 3. 1, and 3. 3.

- 3 φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον σφίσι τι νεωτερισθῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν: 'fearing lest they should have to contend with a still more extensive revolution in the institutions of their country.'

ἐνδηλοὶ εἶναι: SC. οὐ ῥαδίως φέροντες.

- 4 μειζόνων ὠρέγοντο: cp. 17. 4 τοῦ πλέονος ὀρέγονται.

φοιτῶντων: genitive absolute.

42-44 *The Athenians under Nicias make a descent on Solygeia and defeat the Corinthians.*

- 1 ἐν ἱππαγωγοῖς ναυσί: these were old triremes converted into transports; cp. ii. 56. 2 ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις.

διακοσίους ἱππεύσιν: one-fifth of the total strength of the Athenian cavalry, which numbered 1,000 (Thuc. ii. 13. 8; Ar. *Eq.* 225). They were first organized about the middle of the fifth century B.C., and were recruited from the wealthiest citizens.

Ἄνδριοι καὶ Καρύστιοι: Andros is the most northerly of the Cyclades, lying S.E. of Euboea; Carystus was a coast-town near the southern extremity of Euboea.

τρίτος αὐτός: this expression implies that Nicias was commander-in-chief and ranked above his two colleagues.

- 2 πλέοντες: 'in the course of their voyage'; cp. 3. 1.

μεταξὺ Χερσονήσου τε καὶ Πείτου: Chersonesus is a promontory at the point (south of Cenchreae) where Mount Oneion runs down to the Saronic Gulf; Rheitus is a stream to the south of the promontory.

Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυθέντες: according to tradition the Aeolians of Corinth, whose kings were of the line of Sisyphus, were conquered by a band of Dorians led by Aletes, a descendant of Heracles.

ὁ δὲ Ἴσθμός: the Isthmus seems to have included the whole district between Mount Oneion and Geraneia; the measurement is correct, if taken from the southern point of this tract.

- 3 προπυθόμενοι ἐξ Ἀργούς : the information came from the oligarchic party in Argos. The state was neutral in the war (ii. 9. 2).

ἐκ πλείονος : sc. χρόνου, 'a considerable time previously.'

ἐβοήθησαν : to be rendered by the English pluperfect.

τῶν ἔξω Ἴσθμου : i. e. the inhabitants of the district between the Isthmus and the Megarian frontier.

ἐν Ἀμπρακίᾳ καὶ ἐν Λευκάδι : Ampracia was a Corinthian colony in Epirus, some miles inland from the north side of the Ampracian Gulf. The Corinthians had placed a garrison of 300 hoplites in it in the previous winter (iii. 114. 4). For Leucas, see note on 8. 2. Its garrison is alluded to in iii. 7. 4 and 94. 1. Λευκάδι is Cobet's correction of the MSS. reading Λευκαδία, which would require the article. The territory called Λευκαδία included part of the mainland, as well as the peninsula of Λευκάς.

ἀπῆσαν : all the MSS. have ἀπήεσαν.

οἱ κατασχίσουσιν : a dependent question.

- 4 τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῖς ἤρθη : these were probably fire signals (φρυκτοί) ; cp. III. 2 τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ πυρός. They were raised by the people on the coast for the benefit of the Corinthian force. The article indicates that this method of signalling had been prearranged.

ἐν Κεγχρεῖᾳ : the port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf. Thucydides uses also the plural form Κεγχρειαί.

ἦν ἄρα : see note on 8. 5. For the implication of purpose, cp. II. 3 εἴ πως.

Κρομμῶνα : Crommyon was on the Saronic Gulf, midway between Corinth and Megara.

- 43 1 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ : not 'in the battle', for Battus took no part in the engagement ; but 'in the field'.

τοῖς ἄλλοις : instrumental dative.

- 2 εὐθὺς ἀποβηκότες : 'immediately on its disembarking.' The adverb, though put with the participle, really modifies the verb ἐπέκειτο. We must suppose that an interval had elapsed between the arrival of the Athenian fleet (ἔσχον, 42. 2) and the landing of the troops, during which the Corinthians had covered the twenty στάδιοι between the Isthmus and the landing-place. Steup takes εὐθύς in the local sense with πρὸ τῆς Χερσονήσου, 'immediately in front of Chersonesus' ; but the order of the words is against this.

ἐν χερσὶ : 'hand to hand.'

3 ἔσχατοι: i.e. on the extreme right.

αἵμασιάν: a wall built of stones without mortar, probably enclosing a field.

ἦν γὰρ . . . πᾶν: explanatory of the following words καθύπερθεν ὄντες; cp. the similar parenthesis in 44. 1.

βάλλοντες τοῖς λίθοις: the present implies that they threw the stones (of the wall) as they advanced.

παιανίσαντες: the paean (to Ares) was sung by soldiers going into battle, and also (to Apollo) as a thanksgiving for victory.

4 τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρα ξαυτῶν: the genitive of a reflexive pronoun regularly stands between the article and the noun; but when there is another qualifying word (as here εὐωνύμῳ) it may follow the noun.

ἀνέστρεψαν: intransitive, 'rallied.'

5 ἤλπιζον: '(the Corinthians) expected.'

πειράσειν: cp. 25. 10 ἐπείρων.

44 1 ἀντείχον: this refers to the Corinthian right wing and the Athenian left.

τῶν ἐτέρων: 'the other side'; cp. 48. 5.

τὸν λόφον: i.e. τὸν Σολύγειον λόφον, 42. 2.

ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα: 'took up their position,' lit. 'grounded their arms', resting spear and shield on the ground, but retaining hold of them. Other meanings of the expression τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι are (1) 'to pile arms', e.g. before encamping; (2) 'to lay down one's arms' in token of surrender.

2 τροπῇ: 'retreat,' the noun corresponding in sense to the middle voice ἐτράποντο in § 1.

κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας: 'on their right wing,' a different use of κατὰ from that in 43. 5 ('opposite').

οἱ πλεῖστοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον: αὐτῶν is used loosely; for Thucydides does not mean that 'most of the Corinthians' or 'most of their right wing' were killed. This is clear from 44. 6, where the number of Corinthian dead is given as 212. He means 'most of those who fell'.

ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιά: i.e. the Corinthian left wing. The narrative is now resumed from the end of 43. 4.

τούτῳ τῇ τρόπῳ: these words yield no satisfactory sense: Rutherford suggests that they are an adscript to explain the use of the preposition κατὰ.

οὐ κατὰ δίωξιν πολλήν: 'without being hotly pursued.'

4 τοῦτοις: the pronoun resumes τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν Κορινθίων.

ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ὀνείου: the ridge of Oneion, terminating in the promontory Chersonesus, lay between Cenchreae and the battlefield.

κονιορτὸν δὲ ὥς εἶδον: the clouds of dust raised by the combatants were visible above the ridge. Cp. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 4, 'In the drought of summer every green blade disappears, and the fields are little more than a bare stony wilderness swept by whirling clouds of dust. This rugged barren quality of the soil was equally characteristic of the Isthmus in antiquity.' Note the emphatic position of *κονιορτόν*, in contrast with *ἡ μάχη*.

καὶ [ὥς] ἔγνωσαν: 'and when they realized (what was happening).'

For the use of *ἔγνωσαν* without an object, cp. 14. 1 *γνόντες*. *ὥς* is absent in two MSS.; it may be intended to show that *κονιορτόν* is not the object of both verbs. Stahl conjectured *καὶ ὥς* ('even so', 'just by that') *ἔγνωσαν ἐβόηθουν τε*, with a comma after *εἶδον*.

οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Κορινθίων: when the Corinthians marched out *πανδημί* (42. 3), they had left the older men as their garrison. Similarly at Athens men over fifty were not called out except in emergencies (i. 105. 4).

6 ἐς τὰς ἐπικειμένας νήσους: some small islands in the bay on which Cenchreae stood.

ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς . . . ὑποσπόνδους ἀνείλοντο: by acting thus the Athenians virtually resigned their claim to a victory. Plutarch (*Nic.* 6) attributes their action to the piety of Nicias: ὁμῶς ἐκεῖνος ὑπέμεινε μᾶλλον προέσθαι τὸ νίκημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀτάφους δύο τῶν πολιτῶν.

ἐλάσσους πεντήκοντα: before a numeral ἧ may be omitted, without affecting the construction, after the adjectives *πλείων*, *ἐλάσσων*, *μείων*, and the corresponding adverbs.

45 *Nicias attacks Crommyon, and builds a fort at Methana.*

2 ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν: the territory of Epidaurus occupied the greater part of the eastern side of the Argolic peninsula.

ἐς Μέθανα τὴν μεταξύ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζήνος: all the MSS. have *Μεθώνη*; but Strabo viii. p. 374 C, gives the name as *Μέθανα* (neut. plur.), adding that the form *Μεθώνη* appeared in some copies

of Thucydides. Methana, in the territory of Troezen, was a triangular peninsula (with a town of the same name) connected with the mainland by a neck of land about 1000 feet in width. The words *τὴν . . . Τροιζήνος* are added to distinguish this place from others in Macedonia and Messenia, also called *Μεθώνη*.

[ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μεθώνη ἐστὶ]: as the town was not on the isthmus, but on the west coast of the peninsula, these words must be rejected as a gloss, or else ᾧ must be altered to ἧ.

τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον: i. e. till the Peace of Nicias, four years later (v. 18. 7).

Ἀλιάδα: Halieis was near the south-west corner of the Argolic peninsula.

46-48 *The Athenian fleet arrives at Corcyra. Capture of the fort, and surrender of the oligarchs to the Athenians. The democratic leaders of Corcyra by a trick induce them to break the truce: massacre of the oligarchs. The fleet proceeds to Sicily.*

46 I καθ' ὃν ταῦτα ἐγίνετο: with this reading, καὶ before Εὐρυμέδων means 'also'. Several MSS. omit καθ' ὃν: then καὶ is 'and'. Several editors read ὅν, objecting to the repetition of the preposition as not in accordance with the usage of Thucydides. ταῦτα refers to the events narrated in ch. 42-5.

ναυσὶν Ἀθηναίων: Classen suggests that the numeral μ' (τεσσαράκοντα) may have been lost before ναυσίν.

μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἰστώνης Κερκυραίων καθιδρυμένους: see note on 2. 3. The defining genitive τῆς Ἰστώνης is unusual; the regular construction would be τῇ Ἰστώνῃ in apposition.

τότε: 'formerly.'

διαβάντες: the oligarchs who survived the massacre at first seized some forts on the mainland opposite Corcyra; but afterwards they crossed back to the island (iii. 85).

2 ὥστε: cp. 37. 2.

τοὺς μὲν ἐπικούρους: there were about 100 of these mercenaries (iii. 85).

3 τὴν νήσον . . . τὴν Πτυχίαν: an islet near the city of Corcyra.

μέχρι οὗ Ἀθήναζε πεμφθῶσιν: 'until they could be sent to Athens'; the subjunctive being used because the action is in

prospect. For the use of μέχρι οὗ without ἄν, cp. 16. 2 and 41. 1.

ὥστ', εἰάν: so Stahl reads for ὥστε, ἄν of the MSS. Only in three other passages of Thucydides is there MSS. authority for ἄν ('if'). ὥστε is 'on condition that', as in § 2.

λελύσθαι: see note on 16. 2.

- 4 οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου προστάται τῶν Κερκυραίων: the term προστάτης τοῦ δήμου is applied to any influential popular leader. It is improbable that it was the name of a definite official like the Roman *tribunus plebis*. It occurs in Thucydides in connexion with Megara (iv. 66. 3), Syracuse, and Athens, as well as Corcyra.

τοὺς ἐλθόντας: we should expect αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντας, which Poppo reads; but the change is not necessary.

- 5 τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ: Thucydides seldom uses an introductory γάρ after such expressions as τοιούδε τι.

πείθουσί τινας ὀλίγους: 'they urged a few' (to run away); the usual infinitive after πείθειν is absent owing to the introduction of διδάξαντες κτλ.

ὑποπέμψαντες φίλους: 'having sent, with a concealed motive, friends (of the prisoners).' ὑποπέμπειν = *submittere*. The friends were of course dupes of the popular leaders.

ὡς κατ' εὐνοίαν δῆ: with διδάξαντες; 'having with pretended good-will instructed them.' δῆ is ironical, like δῆθεν; cp. 67. 3.

εἴη: optative because the main verb πείθουσι is *historic* present.

αὐτοὶ ἐτοιμάσειν: note the change of construction from ὅτι with a finite verb to the infinitive. αὐτοί may refer either to the φίλοι (subject of λέγειν) or to the popular leaders (of whom διδάξαντες is predicated).

- 47 I ὡς δὲ ἔπεισαν, καὶ μηχανησαμένων ... ἐλήφθησαν: ἔπεισαν and the participle have for subject οἱ προστάται (or possibly οἱ φίλοι), while ἐλήφθησαν is said of the oligarchs.

ἐλέλυντο ... παρεδίδοντο: for the pluperfect cp. 23. 1. The imperfect παρεδίδοντο indicates the progress of the action; the pluperfect παρεδέδοντο (which some MSS. have) would imply that the instant handing over of the captives to the Corcyraean δῆμος was as much a matter of course as the termination of the truce.

- 2 τοῦ τοιούτου: partitive genitive with ξυνελάβοντο, 'contributed to

this result.' τοῦ τοιούτου means 'the capture', and is not explained by the ὥστε clause.

ὥστε ἀκριβῇ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι: 'so that the reason alleged was a plausible one.' The πρόφασις was that the Athenian generals intended to hand over the captives to the Corcyraean δῆμος (46. 5); this allegation was ἀκριβής, 'accurate,' not that it was true, but because it fitted the facts so far as these were known to the captives.

οἱ στρατηγοὶ . . . κατάδηλοι ὄντες . . . μὴ ἂν βούλεσθαι: 'the fact that the generals obviously would not desire . . .' For noun + participle as subject, cp. 5. 1; 26. 4. After κατάδηλός εἰμι the participle is the regular construction; for the infinitive, cp. 38. 1 δηλοῦντες προσίσσθαι.

τοὺς ἄνδρας . . . ὑπ' ἄλλων κομισθέντας: 'the bringing of the prisoners to Athens by others': see the preceding note.

3 ἐξάγοντες . . . διηγόν: for the present participle, see note on 2. 1.

κατὰ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας: 'twenty at a time.'

ἴδοι: optative of indefinite frequency.

παριόντες: 'walking beside them.'

τῆς ὁδοῦ: partitive genitive; cp. 33. 2 προλαμβάνοντες ῥαδίως τῆς φυγῆς.

48 1 ἐς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐξήκοντα: 'as many as sixty men,' lit. 'to the number of sixty men'. These words form the object of ἐξαγαγόντες; see note on 3. 2 ἐπὶ πολύ.

ἤσθοντο: 'they realized (what was taking place).'

αὐτοὺς διαφθείρειν: αὐτοῖς = ἑῶν (in agreement with τοὺς Ἀθηναίους).

κατὰ δύναμιν: 'if they could help it.'

2 τῷ κεράμῳ: collective, 'the tiling.'

3 τὰς σφαγὰς: 'their throats,' σφαγὴ being the spot where the victim was struck (σφάζω).

ἐκ κλινῶν τινῶν: to be joined with τοῖς σπάρτοις.

παραρτήματα ποιοῦντες ἀπαγχόμενοι: the first two words balance the instrumental dative τοῖς σπάρτοις, while ἀπαγχόμενοι corresponds to καθιέντες. Some stabbed themselves, others hanged themselves either with bed-girths or with strips of clothing.

ἀναλοῦντες: all the MSS. have ἀναδοῦντες, but Zonaras and Suidas give ἀναλοῦντες. Thucydides uses both forms, ἀναλίσκω and ἀναλώω.

- 4 φορμηδόν: 'cross-wise,' like the interlaced strips of a basket or mat (φορμός). Cp. ii. 75. 2 ξύλα . . . φορμηδὸν ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες.

ἦνδραποδίσαντο: this is the only place where Thucydides uses the middle voice of this verb. It need not mean more than 'sold into slavery (for their own benefit)'.

- 5 πολλή γενομένη: 'having lasted a long time.' The στάσις had begun in 427 B.C. (iii. 70).

ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε: 'at least for this war,' lit. 'so far at least as (happened) during this war'; cp. 16. 1 ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας. By 'this war' Thucydides means the period of hostilities terminated by the Peace of Nicias; see Introduction, p. vii. Diodorus (xiii. 48) mentions another outbreak in 410 B.C.

τῶν ἑτέρων: 'the other party,' i.e. the oligarchs; cp. 44. 1.

- 49 *Anactorium is betrayed to the Athenians and Acarnanians, and occupied by the latter.*

- 1 οἱ ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι: see note on 13. 2.

Ἀνακτόριον: a town held by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans in common until 432, when the latter were expelled and Corinthian settlers introduced (i. 55. 1).

ἐκπέψαντες [Κορινθίους] . . . οἰκήτορας: the MSS. vary between οἰκήτορες and οἰκήτορας. With the former reading ἐκπέψαντες must be taken in the sense of ἐκβαλόντες: 'after expelling the Corinthians, the Acarnanians on their part occupied the place, settling in it from all their districts.' The objections to this are: (a) ἐκπέψαντες is too weak a word to be used of a forcible expulsion by an enemy, (b) the awkward appositional use of οἰκήτορες. On the other hand, if οἰκήτορας is read, Κορινθίους must be struck out; we then have the phrase commonly used for 'sending out colonists'.

αὐτοί: themselves, as opposed to the Athenians.

ἀπὸ πάντων: cp. 14. 5.

- 50 *A Persian envoy to Sparta is captured by the Athenians at Eion. Contents of the Persian king's letter. Death of Artaxerxes.*

- 1 τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν: the ships sent to collect the arrears of tribute from the allies. The tribute was normally paid over at

Athens at the time of the Great Dionysia; arrears were collected by ἐκλογεῖς chosen from the wealthiest class of the citizens.

Ἡϊόνι τῇ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι: Eïon had been an Athenian possession since its capture by Cimon in 476.

2 κομισθέντος: sc. Ἀθήναζε.

τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς μεταγραφάμενοι: 'having had the letter translated.' The plural is occasionally used of a single letter.

ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων: the letter was written in Assyrian (cuneiform) characters, but probably in the Persian language.

πολλῶν ἄλλων γεγραμμένων: genitive absolute.

πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους: to be joined with γεγραμμένων.

οὐ γιγνώσκειν: supply βασιλεῖα as the subject of the infinitive: 'the king did not understand.'

πολλῶν γὰρ ἐλθόντων πρέσβων: Thucydides has hitherto mentioned only one Peloponnesian embassy sent to Persia in 430, and that one got no farther than Thrace (ii. 67).

ταῦτά: sc. τοῖς ἄλλοις.

πέμψαι: infinitive of dependent command.

3 Ἀρταξέρξην: he reigned 465-425 B.C.

51 *The Chians demolish their new fortifications at the bidding of the Athenians.*

κελευσάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὑποπτευσάντων: the second participle gives the reason for the first, but the two are simply co-ordinated: 'by order of the Athenians, who had begun to suspect.'

ἐς αὐτούς: this refers to the Chians, and belongs to ὑποπτευσάντων. ἐς αὐτούς, which is read by some editors, would refer to the Athenians and go with νεωτεριεῖν.

ποιησάμενοι μέντοι . . . ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν: 'having first, however, procured from the Athenians the strongest possible pledges and guarantees.' πρὸς Ἀθηναίους is lit. 'in dealing with the A.' ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, 'in accordance with what was possible.'

52 *Eclipse of the sun, and an earthquake. Exiles from Mytilene capture Rhoeteium, and have Antandrus betrayed to them. They make Antandrus a base of operations against Lesbos.*

1 τοῦ τε ἡλίου ἐκλιπές τι ἐγένετο: 'there was a partial eclipse of the sun.' The date of this has been calculated as March 21, 424 B.C.

The passage accordingly helps to fix the date of the beginning of *θέρος* (see note on I. 1, and Introduction, p. xvi).

περὶ νουμηνίαν: 'about the beginning of a month' (the Attic month Ἑλαφβολιών). The months originally were lunar, the new moon marking the beginning of a new month; and the term *νουμηνία* for 'the first day of a calendar month' was a survival from that time.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἱσταμένου: 'in the course of the first ten days of the same month.' The Attic month was divided into three periods of ten days each, *μὴν ἱστάμενος*, *μὴν μεσῶν*, *μὴν φθίνων*.

ἔσεισεν: 'there was an earthquake' (for *ὁ θεὸς* or *Ποσειδῶν ἔσεισε τὴν γῆν*). Cp. the impersonal use of *ῥεῖ*, *νίφει*, *βροντᾷ*.

In i. 23 Thucydides mentions earthquakes and eclipses among the calamities attending the war.

- 2 οἱ Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Λεσβίων: these exiles belonged to the oligarchical party, which had unsuccessfully revolted from Athens in 427.

μισθωσάμενοι ἔκ τε Πελοποννήσου ἐπικουρικόν: Arcadia supplied many mercenaries: cp. vii. 57. 9 *Μαντινῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων μισθοφόροι ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ πολέμους σφίσιν ἀποδεικνυμένους ἰέναι εἰωθότες*.

Ροίτειον: on the south side of the Hellespont, near its western extremity.

λαβόντες: i. e. from the inhabitants.

δισχιλίους στατήρας Φωκαίτας: this *stater*, coined at Phocaea, was of electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver) and bore the figure of a seal (φώκη). It weighed 252 grains.

- 3 Ἄντανδρον: on the north side of the Gulf of Adramyttium.

τὰς Ἀκταίας καλουμένας: 'the cities of the coast, as they were called'; these had been subject to Athens since the revolt of 427; cp. iii. 50. 3 *παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὄσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων*.

πάντων μάλιστα: 'above all,' a regular expression used without regard to the gender of *πόλις*.

καὶ κρατυνάμενοι αὐτὴν . . . χειρώσεσθαι: this sentence depends on a verb of thinking, e. g. *ἐνόμιζον*, understood from *ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια*.

ναῦς τε γὰρ . . . σκευῇ: the parenthesis refers to what follows, *ῥαδίως . . . χειρώσεσθαι*.

εὐπορία ἦν : = εὐπορον ἦν.

καὶ τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐπικειμένης : the wooded range of Ida (cp. ἴδη, 'a timber-tree,' in Herodotus) runs parallel with the north side of the Gulf of Adramyttium.

καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ σκευῇ : the dative depends on εὐπορία ἦν, and is parallel to the infinitive ναῦς ποιεῖσθαι ; lit. 'there was facility for building ships and for the rest of the (necessary) equipment'. As Thucydides does not elsewhere use σκευή in this sense, the MSS. reading has been altered by many editors to παρασκευῇ. Rutherford's conjecture, τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη (accusative after ποιεῖσθαι), gives an excellent sense, σκεύη meaning 'masts, oars,' &c.

τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Αἰολικὰ πολίσματα : these are called above τὰς Ἀκταίας.

53-54 *Nicias attacks Cythera: importance of the island to Sparta. He captures Scandeia, and after a battle the town of Cythera surrenders. Nicias leaves a garrison in Cythera, and makes descents on the coast of Laconia.*

53 I ἐξήκοντα ναοὶ . . . καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων . . . ἀγαγόντες : the construction changes from the dative of accompaniment to a participle in agreement with the subject.

Κύθηρα : an island to the S.W. of Cape Malea, and about six miles from the nearest point of the mainland. For its importance in war, see Introduction, p. xxviii.

Νικόστρατος : already mentioned in iii. 75 as commanding a squadron at Corcyra in 427. He was killed at the battle of Mantinea.

2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν περιόικων : the subject is οἱ Κυθήριοι, 'the inhabitants are Lacedaemonians belonging to the class of Perioeci.' In vii. 57. 6 they are described as Δωριῆς . . . Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι.

κυθηροδίκης ἀρχή : 'an official styled the Judge of Cythera.' There is some ground for holding that the Spartans sent governors to other towns of the Perioeci: the Schol. on Pindar, *Ol.* 6. 154, says that there were twenty Lacedaemonian ἄρμοσται. An inscription found in Cythera mentions Μένανδρος ἄρμοστήρ. For ἀρχή in the concrete sense cp. v. 47. 9 ὁμύντων δὲ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἡ βουλή καὶ αἱ ἔνδημοι ἀρχαί.

διέπεμπον : the subject is 'the Spartan authorities', understood from ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης.

- 3 προσβολή: in the concrete sense, 'a place to put in at.'

ἦσσαν: i. e. less than they would have done if the island had not been garrisoned.

πάσα γὰρ ἀνέχει πρὸς τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος: 'for the whole of Laconia juts out towards the Sicilian and Cretan seas.' This clause is explanatory of the words ἐκ θαλάσσης, the intervening words ἥπερ . . . κακουργεῖσθαι being parenthetical. The southern part of Laconia consists of two great prongs of land, terminating respectively in Capes Taenarum and Malea. Another view is that the subject of the sentence is ἡ νῆσος, 'the whole island runs out towards the S. and C. seas,' thus commanding both seas and protecting the mainland; but ἀνέχει would be strangely used of an *island*.

- 54 I κατασχόντες: 'having put in to land.'

δισχιλίους Μιλησίων ὀπλίταις: this number is too big for ten ships. Various smaller numbers have been suggested, 200, 400, 500.

τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλιν Σκάνδειαν καλουμένην: on the east side of the island.

ἐς τὰ πρὸς Μαλέαν τετραμμένα: i. e. the north side of the island.

τὴν [ἐπὶ θαλάσση] πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων: the words ἐπὶ θαλάσση cannot be right, for the expression would then be applicable to Scandeia. They seem to be erroneously repeated from the second line of the chapter. Stahl reads ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, 'away from the sea.' But τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κ. is a sufficient designation of the chief town in the island. Its name was Cythera, and it was about ten stades from Scandeia, according to Pausanias.

- 2 τὴν ἄνω πόλιν: 'the inland city,' as opposed to Scandeia on the coast.

Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν πλὴν θανάτου: 'on condition that they should allow the Athenians (i. e. the Athenian ἐκκλησία; cp. 57. 4) to decide their fate, only they must not be put to death.' The infinitive ἐπιτρέψαι depends directly on ξυνέβησαν, instead of being introduced by ὥστε or ἐφ' ὅτε.

- 3 ἦσαν . . . γενόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι: the periphrasis with the aorist (instead of the perfect) participle is comparatively rare: it is practically a pluperfect, 'proposals had been made by Nicias': see note on 16. I ἐγίγοντο σπονδαί.

ἐπιτηδειότερον: 'more favourably' (for the people of Cythera).

τό τε παρατίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐπράχθη αὐτοῖς : 'both at the moment and in the sequel the terms of the agreement were settled for them.' τὸ ἔπειτα refers to the decision of the Athenian assembly. τὰ occurs only in the inferior MSS., but distinctly improves the sense; without it we must render 'the present and the future stages of the agreement'.

ἀνέστησαν γὰρ (ἀν) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κυθηρίους: ἄν (Heilmann's conj.) is clearly necessary: 'for otherwise the Athenians would have destroyed the Cytherians.' γάρ implies the ellipse εἰ μὴ λόγοι ἐγένοντο.

οὕτως: 'in the way that has been described' (in 53. 2).

- 4 τήν τε Σκάνδειαν . . . παραλαβόντες: the Athenians had captured Scandeia (§ 1), but had evidently not held it; they now receive possession of it.

τῶν Κυθήρων φυλακὴν ποιησάμενοι: 'having taken measures for the guarding of Cythera' (i.e. the whole island).

ἐς τε Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἑλος: Asine is here probably a town on the west side of the Laconian Gulf, and not the town on the Messenian Gulf mentioned in 13. 1. The latter, so far to the west, would not be naturally coupled with Helos, which lay close to the marshy tract at the mouth of the Eurotas.

ἀποβάσεις ποιοῦμενοι καὶ ἐναυλιζόμενοι . . . ἐδρουν: for the tenses, cp. note on 2. 1.

τῶν χωρίων οὐ καιρὸς εἶη: 'at convenient points.' The partitive genitive depends on the adverb οὐ, lit. 'where in the district it was convenient'.

- 55-56 *The Spartans garrison various points in their territory. Their discouragement in consequence of their losses. One of their garrisons suffers defeat. The Athenians sail to Epidaurus Limera and then to Thyrea.*

- 55 1 ἀποβάσεις τοιαύτας: 'similar descents' (to that upon Cythera).
ἀθρόα . . . τῇ δυνάμει: 'with their forces concentrated.' The emphasis on the predicative adjective is due partly to its position at the beginning of the clause and partly to its separation from the noun.

ὡς ἐκασταχόσε ἔδει: 'according to local requirements.' With ἔδει supply πέμψαι.

τὰ ἄλλα : adverbial accusative.

μὴ σφίσι νεώτερόν τι γένηται τῶν περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν : cp. the similar expression in 41. 3. τὴν κατάστασιν is 'the constitution', in which sense the genitive τῆς πόλεως is often added.

τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πάθους : i. e. the disaster at Sphacteria. ἐν is the reading of C, and is the preposition used in similar passages (e. g. § 3 of this chapter); ἐπί, which the other MSS. have, would mean 'near the island'.

ἐχομένης : 'being held by the enemy.' The participle agrees with the first of the two nouns, but belongs in thought to both.

σφᾶς : the reflexive pronoun is used because the clause in which it occurs states a reason assigned by the Spartans for the fear which they felt.

πολέμου ταχέος καὶ ἀπροφυλάκτου : a reference to the operations mentioned at the end of ch. 54. So rapid were the movements of the Athenians that the Spartans had not time to take precautions for the defence of threatened points.

- 2 παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἱππέας τετρακοσίους κατεστήσαντο καὶ τοξότας : up to this time the Spartans had no cavalry or light-armed troops. The number of their cavalry had been raised to 600 in 394 B. C. (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 16). This arm of the service was a refuge for those who were not fit for service as hoplites, the horses being provided by the wealthiest citizens (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 10). Probably a numeral has been lost after τοξότας.

εἴπερ ποτέ, μάλιστα δὴ ὀκνηρότεροι ἐγένοντο : 'they showed more hesitation than ever'; lit. '(now) most of all, if ever, they became rather hesitating'. For εἴπερ ποτέ, cp. 20. 1. ὀκνηρότεροι is an instance of the 'absolute' use of the comparative. For the temper of the Spartans, cp. i. 118. 2 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ὅντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἵεναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, ἣν μὴ ἀναγκάζονται.

παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφῶν ἰδέαν τῆς παρασκευῆς : 'at variance with the existing form of their fighting-force,' which consisted almost entirely of hoplites.

καὶ τούτῳ : 'and what was more.'

οἷς τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρούμενον αἰεὶ ἐλλιπὲς ἦν τῆς δοκίσεώς τι πράξειν : 'who always regarded a lost opportunity as something taken from their expectation of success.' οἷς is dative of reference, 'in whose estimation.' τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρούμενον, 'anything not taken in hand.'

The infin. *πράξειν* depends upon the noun *δοκήσεως*; cp. ii. 84. 1 *δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν*. For the temper of the Athenians cp. i. 70. 7 *καὶ ἃ μὲν αὖ ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξέλθωσιν, οἰκείων στέρεσθαι ἡγούνται*.

3 *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*: sc. *χρόνῳ*.

παρὰ λόγον: 'contrary to their calculation.'

4 *πάν ὅτι κινήσειαν*: 'in everything that they set in motion,' i. e. 'in all their undertakings'. *πάν* is internal acc. with *ἀμαρτήσεσθαι*.

διὰ τὸ τὴν γνώμην ἀνεχέγγυον γεγενῆσθαι: 'because their temper had become unreliable,' i. e. they had lost their *moralē*. *ἀνεχέγγυος* is lit. 'not able to give a surety'; cp. iii. 46. 1 *τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ ὥς ἐχεγγύῳ πιστεῖσάντας*, 'trusting to the death-penalty as a reliable one.'

56 I *τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις . . . δημοῖσι*: the dative is used instead of the genitive absolute, because the Athenians derived *advantage* from the inactivity of the Spartans.

τὴν παραθαλάσσιον: cp. *τῶν περὶ θάλασσαν*, 54. 4.

τὰ πολλά: adverbial, 'for the most part.'

ἐκάστοι: 'each detachment.'

καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ: 'and because their circumstances were such as I have described.' This is the second reason for the inactivity of the Spartans.

ἥπερ καὶ ἡμίνατο: 'which actually made reprisals.'

Κοτύρταν καὶ Ἀφροδιτίαν: in the extreme south-east of Laconia, not far from Cape Malea.

ἐφόβησεν: 'put to flight'—the sense which *φοβέω* always bears in Homer.

δεξαμένων: 'withstanding their attack'; cp. 43. 3 *ἐδέξαντο*.

2 *Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμηράν*: a town on the east coast of Laconia, about twenty miles north of Cape Malea. The name *Λιμηρά* was supposed to be derived from its good harbour (*λιμὴν*). The better known Epidaurus was on the Argolic peninsula.

τῆς Κυνουρίας γῆς καλουμένης: this border district was conquered by the Spartans about 550 B. C., but the Argives continued to claim it; cp. v. 41. 2 *περὶ τῆς Κυνουρίας γῆς, ἧς αἰεὶ πέρι διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὔσης*.

Αἰγινήταις ἐκπεσοῦσιν: the whole population of Aegina was expelled by the Athenians in 431 B. C. and replaced by Athenian

settlers (ii. 27). Some of the exiles found refuge in Cynuria, while others dispersed all over Greece.

διὰ τε τὰς . . . εὐεργεσίας καὶ ὅτι . . . ἔστασα two methods of expressing cause are here combined.

ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμόν . . . καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν : ὑπό is 'at the time of', and its force extends to τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. The earthquake and the revolt took place in 464 B. C. (i. 101. 2) ; see note on 3. 3.

Ἀθηναίων ὑπακούοντες : the defeat of the Aeginetan fleet was followed by a siege of the town, which lasted two years. It surrendered in 464 B. C., and became tributary to Athens (i. 108. 4).

πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην αἰεὶ ἔστασαν : 'they always sympathized with the views of the Spartans.' (In ii. 27, where a similar account is given of the settlement of Cynuria, one reason for the action of the Spartans is the hostility of Aegina to Athens, τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον.)

57 *Capture of Thyrea. The Cytherian prisoners are confined in the Cyclades; tribute is imposed on Cythera; the Aeginetans captured at Thyrea are put to death.*

1 τεῖχος : 'fort.'

τὴν ἄνω πόλιν : cp. 54. 2. Its name (Thyrea) is given in § 3.

2 φρουρὰ μία : one of the garrisons mentioned in 55. 1.

ξυνεσελεῖν μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος : this must mean the fortifications of the town of Thyrea ; it comes awkwardly after the other τεῖχος in the second line of the chapter.

3 ἐν χερσὶ : 'in the engagement' ; cp. 43. 2.

τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων : either (1) the commander of the Spartan garrison mentioned in § 2, who, however, would naturally be with his own force ; or (2) the governor of the city, like those mentioned in 132. 3. In the latter case the genitive = 'one of the number of the Lacedaemonians.'

4 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβουλεύσαντο : see 54. 2, where the decision of the fate of the Cytherians was left to the Athenian Assembly.

καταθέσθαι ἐς τὰς νήσους : 'to deposit in the islands (i. e. the Cyclades) for safe keeping.'

αἰεὶ ποτε : stronger than αἰεὶ alone, 'always, at any time one chose to think of.'

παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους . . . καταδεῖσαι: the accusative is used with παρὰ because previous motion is implied, ' (to take them to prison and) confine them beside the others.'

τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους: 'the Lacedaemonians who had been in Sphacteria.'

58 *Truce between Camarina and Gela. Conference of the Sicilian Greeks at Gela. Speech of Hermocrates the Syracusan.*

Καμαριναίοις καὶ Γελοῖς: for Camarina, see note on 25. 7. Gela, a Rhodian and Cretan colony founded early in the seventh century B. C. (vi. 4. 3), was on the coast west of Camarina.

Σικελιῶται: the Greeks settled in Sicily, as opposed to the native Σικελοί; cp. Ἰταλιῶται, the Greeks of South Italy.

ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις: in apposition with, and limiting the meaning of, the wider expression οἱ ἄλλοι Σικελιῶται.

ἐς λόγους κατέστησαν ἀλλήλοις, εἴ πως ξυναλλαγείεν: 'they held a conference with a view to reconciliation'; lit. 'in case they might in any way be reconciled'. For εἴ πως, see note on 11. 3.

ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα: 'on both sides of the question.'

διαφερομένων καὶ ἀξιούντων, ὡς ἕκαστοί τι ἐλασσοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζον: the subject of the genitive absolute is τῶν πρέσβεων understood from the context. 'The envoys quarrelling and making claims according as the representatives of each state considered they were under any disadvantage.'

ὅσπερ καὶ ἔπεισε μάλιστα αὐτούς: these words anticipate the statement in 65. 1 of the effect of Hermocrates' speech.

ἐς τὸ κοινόν: 'to the whole gathering,' not to individual members.

59 'My own city is not the greatest sufferer by the war, but I will say what I think best for the whole of Sicily. The burdens of war are obvious: they deter neither the aggressor nor the aggrieved from fighting. But if the time is not opportune for war, counsels of peace may be profitable. The interests of our several states were, are, and will be our determining motive.'

I οὔτε πόλεως ὧν ἐλαχίστης . . . οὔτε πονουμένης μάλιστα: *meiosis*: 'not the least' = 'the greatest.'

ἐς κοινὸν . . . ἀποφαινόμενος : 'publicly expressing.'

τῇ Σικελίᾳ πάσῃ : emphatic by position, but depending on βελτίστην.

- 2 ὥς χαλεπὸν : sc. ἐστὶ, a dependent question.

πάν τὸ ἐνὸν ἐκλέγων : 'dwelling on every possible point (or, on all that it involves).' ἐκλέγων here = ἐξαγορεύων : to take it as 'singling out' would be inconsistent with πᾶν.

αὐτὸ δρᾶν : = πολεμεῖν.

τοῖς μὲν : i. e. those who assume the offensive, as opposed to οἱ δέ, those who fight in self-defence. In the second part of the sentence the construction is changed, οἱ δέ . . . ἐθέλουσιν standing instead of τοῖς δέ . . . ἐθέλειν.

τῶν δεινῶν : 'the dangers.'

πρὸ τοῦ αὐτίκα τι ἐλασσοῦσθαι : 'rather than suffer any immediate loss.'

- 3 αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα : i. e. wars of aggression and of defence.

ἐν καιρῷ : this is the reading of M, and is the ordinary prose usage. καιρῷ without the preposition is poetical.

αἱ παραινέσεις τῶν ξυναλλαγῶν : 'exhortations to agreement.'

- 4 ὁ καὶ ἡμῖν . . . γένοιτο : 'our persuasion of this fact (i. e. of the benefit of such exhortations) at the present juncture would be of great value to us.' ὁ = τὸ τὰς παραινέσεις . . . ὠφελίμους εἶναι, and it is the accusative of the internal object with πειθομένοις, which has a conditional force (= ἐὰν πειθώμεθα). The subject of γένοιτο is τὸ πείθεσθαι, implied in the preceding words.

τὰ γὰρ ἴδια ἕκαστοι εὖ βουλευόμενοι δὴ θέσθαι τό τε πρῶτον ἐπολεμήσαμεν : 'for it was of course with the intention of securing our respective interests that we originally commenced hostilities.' The participial clause belongs also to the following verbs πειρώμεθα and πολεμήσομεν : self-interest is a predominant motive in the past, present, and future. With εὖ θέσθαι cp. καλῶς θέσθαι, 17. 4.

πειρώμεθα : indicative, like the other two verbs; not subjunctive of exhortation.

ἦν ἄρα : see note on 8. 5.

προχωρήσῃ : impersonal.

ἶσον . . . ἔχοντι : 'having his due, what he is fairly entitled to.'

60 ' *But the question is not only about our separate interests, but whether we can save Sicily as a whole from the Athenians. They turn our divisions to their own profit: we are only wasting our means and furthering their ambition. Some day they will try to crush us completely.*'

- 1 τὴν πᾶσαν Σικελίαν : 'Sicily as a whole.'
 ἀναγκαιοτέρους : in active sense, 'more convincing.'
 περὶ τῶνδε : i. e. περὶ τῶν ἰδίων.
 ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ παρόντες : cp. 24. 3.

ξυμμαχίας : i. e. alliance with Leontini and the other Chalcidian cities.

τὸ φύσει πολέμιον εὐπρεπῶς ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον καθίστανται : 'they plausibly turn to their advantage their natural feeling of hostility.'
 τὸ φύσει πολέμιον seems to mean the inherent animosity felt by the Athenians towards all the Greeks of Sicily.

- 2 τοῖς μὴ ἐπικαλουμένοις : the dative is the regular prose construction with ἐπιστρατεύειν, and is therefore to be preferred to the other reading τοὺς μὴ ἐπικαλουμένους.

τέλεσι τοῖς οἰκέοις : 'by the expenditure of our own resources.'

καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅμα προκοπτόντων ἐκείνοις : 'and at the same time furthering the extension of their empire.' The metaphor is from pioneers cutting down obstacles in the route of an army. For the genitive, cp. 33. 2 προλαμβάνοντες τῆς φυγῆς.

καὶ πλείονί ποτε στόλῳ : in contrast to the 'few ships' at present in Sicilian waters.

ὑπὸ σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι : ὑπό denoting subjection is used by Thucydides with the acc. and the dat.

61 ' *Our object should be to strengthen, not to weaken, our several states. It is disunion that is ruining them individually and Sicily as a whole. We must be united, and not imagine that it is only the Dorians that Athens threatens. The ambition of the Athenians is quite natural, but we are wrong if we do not check them. If we are unanimous, they will have no footing in Sicily.*'

- 1 καίτοι . . . χρὴ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἐπικτωμένους . . . ξυμμάχους τε ἐπάγεσθαι : in this sentence the participles contain the leading

idea: 'each of our states ought, when it invites allies, to aim at acquiring additional territory (lit. "what does not belong to it").'

τῇ ἑαυτῶν: sc. γῇ. The dative depends on ἐπικτωμένους.

τὰ ἑτοῖμα: 'what we already possess.'

τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν: 'our (separate) cities and (consequently) Sicily (as a whole).'

ἥς γε οἱ ἔνοικοι ξύμπαντες μὲν ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ διέσταμεν: 'since we, its inhabitants, though forming one undivided object of attack, are disunited city from city.' The unity of Sicily in the eyes of Athenians as an object of attack is contrasted with the lack of a common policy among the Sicilian states.

- 2 παρεστάναι δὲ μηδενί: sc. χρή, 'it ought not to occur to any one,' 'no one ought to entertain the thought.'

τὸ δὲ Χαλκιδικόν: the Chalcidian part of the population; cp. τὸ Ἑλληνικόν for οἱ Ἕλληνες.

τῇ Ἰάδι ξυγγενείᾳ: in iii. 86. 3 the Leontines and their allies appeal to Athens for aid κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν, and the ostensible reason for the compliance of Athens is the relationship (τῆς οἰκειότητος προφάσει).

- 3 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὅτι δίχα πέφυκε, τοῦ ἑτέρου ἔχθαι ἐπίαισιν: 'for it is not the *races* that they will attack because they are naturally disunited, from hostility to one of them.' With this punctuation the subject of πέφυκε is τὰ ἔθνη. If the comma after ἔθνεσιν is omitted, its subject is ἡ Σικελία; 'it will not be because Sicily is disunited in respect of its races that they will attack from hostility to one of them.'

- 4 ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους παρακλήσει: 'in the case of the appeal made to them by the Chalcidian race.' γένος is equivalent to ἔθνος. The appeal is that mentioned in iii. 86.

κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν: see note on § 2 above.

αὐτοὶ τὸ δίκαιον μᾶλλον τῆς ξυνθήκης προθύμως παρέσχοντο: 'they on their part rather than retaliate by indifference have readily rendered the service justly due under the agreement.' In this rendering μᾶλλον is taken absolutely, as implying a contrast with what has preceded. It may be joined with τῆς ξυνθήκης, 'more than the terms of the agreement required.'

- 5 πολλὴ ξυγγνώμη: 'it is quite excusable.'

τοῖς ὑπακούειν ἐτοιμοτέροις οὖσιν: (1) 'those who are too ready to

obey'; (2) 'those who are more ready to obey (than to rule)'; (3) 'those who are ready to obey rather (than to rule)'.

πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, κτλ. : cp. iii. 39. 5 (speech of Cleon),
πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ
ὑπεῖκον θανμάζειν.

διὰ παντός : 'at all times.'

τοῦ εἰκόντος : neuter, as τὸ ἐπὶ shows ; in sense the neut. sing. is equivalent to the masc. plur.

6 γιγνώσκοντες αὐτά : 'recognizing the facts.'

μηδὲ τοῦτό τις πρεσβύτατον ἤκει κρίνας : after ὅσοι . . . προσκοπεῖμεν we should expect the sentence to proceed μηδὲ τοῦτο πρεσβύτατον ἤκομεν κρίναντες ; but there is a sudden change to the singular, and εἰ has to be supplied with τις out of ὅσοι, which introduces what is virtually a conditional clause ; 'if any of us are not exercising proper foresight, and if any one has come here without having decided that it is a matter of supreme importance . . . ' πρεσβύτατον κρίνειν = *antiquissimum habere*. τοῦτο is explained by the following accusative and infinitive, ἅπαντας εὖ θέσθαι.

7 αὐτοῦ : i. e. τοῦ κοινῶς φοβεροῦ.

οὐ πόλεμος πολέμῳ : sc. παύεται, 'war is not terminated by war,' i. e. one war (that between the Sicilian states) will not be ended only that another (between all Sicily and Athens) may begin.

παύονται : the present is used for vivid effect instead of the future.

εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι ἀπίασιν : Thucydides here uses three pairs of contrasted words, two of the pairs also showing alliteration. εὐπρεπῶς refers to the specious plea of kinship and alliance with the Leontines ; εὐλόγως, 'with good reason,' to the fact that peace between the Sicilian states removes all ground for Athenian interference.

62 'Besides, peace is advisable in our own interests. Those who are eager for war should profit by the teaching of history : neither a just cause nor superior force ensures success. The uncertainty of the issue makes men prudent.'

1 τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους : acc. of respect, 'with regard to our relations with the Athenians.'

2 ἄριστον : neuter predicate, 'the greatest of blessings.'

πῶς οὐ χρή: the more lively Greek uses a question where we should employ a statement: 'surely we ought.'

τὰ ἐναντία: a euphemism for κακόν.

οὐχ ἡσυχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ πόλεμον τὸ μὲν παῦσαι ἂν ἐκατέρω, τὸ δὲ ξυνδιασῶσαι: adopting ἡσυχίαν and πόλεμον, Herwerden's conj. for ἡσυχία and πόλεμος of the MSS., we get the acc. and infin. construction after δοκεῖτε, as in the following clause καὶ τὰς τιμὰς . . . ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην. [Those who retain the two nominatives either (1) alter δοκεῖτε to δοκεῖ γε, or (2) alter the infinitives to optatives, παύσειεν and ξυνδιασώσειε. In the latter case the optative clauses are independent of δοκεῖτε, which begins to affect the construction only at the words καὶ τὰς τιμὰς.] τὸ δέ, though singular, refers to τὰ ἐναντία.

ἄλλα τε: to be joined with τὰς τιμὰς καὶ λαμπρότητας.

ἐν μήκει λόγων: abstract for concrete, ἐν μακροῖς λόγοις.

ὥσπερ περὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν: the reference is to 59. 2; but the words read suspiciously like a gloss.

τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ τινὰ σωτηρίαν . . . προῖδεῖν: here τινά almost = ἕκαστον. For the play upon words in ἐπεριδεῖν . . . προῖδεῖν, see note on 29. 2.

ἀπ' αὐτῶν: 'in consequence of them.' The reference may be either to ᾧ or to τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους.

- 3 βεβαίως: with πράξειν, rather than with οἷεται.

ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ ἢ βίᾳ: 'either because he has right on his side or by the use of force.'

τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα μὴ χαλεπῶς σφαλλέσθω: 'let him not feel grievously disappointed at the failure of his hopes' (παρά meaning 'contrary to').

πλείους ἤδη καὶ . . . μετιόντες . . . καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἕτεροι: both principles belong to πλείους, but ἕτεροι is added to the second to show that οἱ ἐλπίσαντες are a distinct class from οἱ μετιόντες. ἤδη, 'ere now.'

τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας: in perfect sense, 'the guilty,' 'those who have wronged them'; see note on ἐκράτουν, 36. 3.

οἱ μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ: these two classes are those already spoken of as μετιόντες and ἐλπίσαντες respectively.

οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ: *non modo non . . . sed ne . . . quidem*. οὐχ ὅσον takes the place of the common οὐχ ὅτι or οὐχ ὅπως.

- 4 τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ ἀδικεῖται: 'for vengeance

does not meet with its just success merely because it is the victim of injustice,' i.e. the fact that a man has been wronged is no guarantee that his efforts to avenge himself will be successful, as they ought to be. The subject of ἀδικεῖται is τιμωρία personified (or ὁ τιμωρούμενος understood from it).

οὐδὲ ἰσχύς βέβαιον, διότι καὶ εὐέλπι: for the neuter predicates, cp. § 2 ἄριστον. καί in this and the preceding sentence stands in the subordinate clause, whereas we should use 'also' in the principal clause, 'because strength is sanguine, it does not follow that it is also sure.'

τὸ δὲ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ μέλλοντος: 'the uncertainty of the future.' The metaphor is from the στάθμη, or 'carpenter's line'. Cp. iii. 59. 1 ὡς ἀστάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς.

χρησιμώτατον: 'most salutary.'

ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ δεδιότες: 'being all equally afraid' of the future.

63 'In view of these facts, let us send the Athenians away and come to terms among ourselves. If you take my advice, each of our states will be its own master; if not, our friendships and enmities will be imposed upon us from without.'

I τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε τούτου διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος: 'in consequence of our vague apprehension of this mysterious power' (i.e. the future).

διὰ τὸ ἤδη †φοβεροὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους: we ought to have either an infinitive after the article, or the participle without the article. Perhaps some infinitive, e.g. ὄρᾶν, has dropped out, or τὸ may have been intruded from the preceding line.

κατ' ἀμφοτέρα: 'on both grounds.'

καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης, ὧν ἕκαστός τι ᾤθημεν πράξειν, ταῖς κωλύμασι ταύταις ἱκανῶς νομίσαντες εἰρχθῆναι: 'and as for the failure of our expectation, of the things (I mean) that we severally thought we would in some degree accomplish, thinking that we have been adequately barred by these hindrances.' τὸ ἐλλιπὲς is probably accusative of respect; it is often taken, illogically, as subject of εἰρχθῆναι. ὧν = τούτων ᾧ, where τούτων is either (α) in apposition with τῆς γνώμης as in the above rendering, or (β) genitive after εἰρχθῆναι. With the whole expression τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης, cp. 55. 2 οἷς τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρούμενον αἰεὶ ἐλλιπὲς ἦν τῆς δοκῆσεώς τι πράξειν.

μάλιστα μὲν . . . , εἰ δὲ μή: 'if possible . . . but if not . . .' *μάλιστα μὲν* indicates the ideally best course.

ἐς αὖθις: 'to another time.'

2 τὸ ξύμπαν τε δὴ: see notes on 4. 3, and 40. 1.

γνώμεν πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ πόλιν ἔξοντες: the first participle is conditional, the second is indirect statement after *γνώμεν*.

τὸν εὖ καὶ κακῶς δρῶντα: καί where we say 'or'; see note on 32. 3.

ἀρετῇ ἀμυνούμεθα: 'we shall requite with manliness,' 'as true men should.'

οὐ περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τινα: some words like ὁ λόγος ἔσται must be supplied: 'it will not be a question of requiting any one.'

καὶ ἄγαν εἰ τύχοιμεν: 'even if we were very successful,' i.e. even if we did not completely lose our independence. *τυγχάνειν* is here used in the sense of *κατορθοῦν* opposed to *σφάλλεσθαι*. καὶ ἄγαν is put first for emphasis.

τοῖς ἐχθίστοις: the Athenians.

οἷς οὐ χρή: these words probably refer to the Peloponnesians, with whom the Dorian states of Sicily were in sympathy, and Hermocrates is speaking here as a Syracusan. But such an argument would not of course appeal to the Chalcidian states, who might interpret the words as meaning 'the Siceliots'.

64 'Though Syracuse is powerful, I think peace advisable; and I urge you to follow my example. There is no disgrace in such a reconciliation. Do not encourage foreign interference. Then Sicily will be rid of the Athenians and of civil war.'

I ἐγὼ μὲν: without any corresponding δέ, 'I for my part (whatever others may do).'

ἄπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον: see 59. 1.

παρεχόμενος: 'representing,' lit. 'putting forward as my own.'

προϊδόμενος αὐτῶν: 'providing against these events.' αὐτῶν refers to the consequences of disunion described at the end of ch. 63. All the MSS. have *προειδομένους* (and αὐτοῖς in line 20); but the nom. sing. is clearly required by the contrast with τοὺς ἄλλους in § 2.

ἡσσᾶσθαι: 'to give way,' 'to make concessions.'

2 τοῦτο παθεῖν : i. e. ἡσσᾶσθαι, with a play upon the other meaning 'to be worsted'.

3 οἰκείους οἰκείων ἡσσᾶσθαι : genitive because the verb contains the notion of comparison.

ἢ Δωριᾷ τινὰ Δωριῶς ἢ Χαλκιδέα τῶν ξυγγενῶν : the first alternative refers to the enmity between Camarina and the other Dorian cities. No instance of hostility between Chalcidian cities is known, so that the second alternative may be only a rhetorical contrast.

τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας : 'and men who—to use language applicable to all—are neighbours.' The adverbial acc. τὸ ξύμπαν introduces the three epithets which are applicable to all Siceliots, in contrast to οἰκείους, which is true of some only.

περιρρύτου : a poetical adjective, found only here in Attic prose.

ὄνομα ἓν : in apposition with Σικελιώτας.

ὅταν ξυμβῇ : 'when occasion arises.'

λόγοις κοινοῖς χρώμενοι : 'conferring together.'

4 ἐπελθόντας : 'if they come as invaders,' opposed to ξυμμάχους and διαλλακτάς.

5 οὐ στερήσομεν : practically one word, 'we shall secure for Sicily two advantages.'

Ἀθηναίων τε ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ . . . πολέμου : explanatory of δνοῖν ἀγαθοῖν.

65 *Peace is made between the Sicilian states on the basis of the status quo. The Athenian generals assent to the peace, and are condemned on their return to Athens. Unreasonable expectations of the Athenians.*

1 αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς : the contrast to this is οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι.

ὥστε : 'on condition that.'

Μοργαντίνην : the territory of Morgantion, a Sicel town to the N.W. of Syracuse.

2 κἀκείνοις : sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

ἐπαινεσάντων : 'having given their assent.'

3 χρήματα ἐπράξαντο : 'they fined.'

ὥς . . . ἀποχωρήσειαν : optative of reported reason, *quod discessissent*.

4 ἥξιουν : with two constructions, (1) acc. and infin. μηδὲν ἐναντιοῦσθαι, (2) infin. alone, κατεργάζεσθαι (middle).

αἰτία : elsewhere Thucydides always uses the neuter form αἴτιον, e.g. 26. 5.

ἥ . . . εὐπραγία . . . ὑποτιθεῖσα : for the construction, cp. 5. 1 ; 26. 4 and 5.

ἰσχὺν τῆς ἐλπίδος : 'confident hopes.'

66 *The Megarians, harassed by the Athenians and by oligarchical exiles, think of recalling the latter. The democratic leaders make overtures to Hippocrates and Demosthenes for the capture of the Long Walls and the surrender of Megara.*

1 Μεγαρῆς οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει : these are contrasted with the oligarchical exiles at Pegae.

πιεζόμενοι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων τῷ πολέμῳ : the first invasion of the Megarid was in 431 B.C. (ii. 31).

Πηγῶν : the port of Megara at the head of the Corinthian Gulf.

στασιασάντων : sc. τῶν Μεγαρέων.

ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους : the party expelled are probably those who are mentioned as living at Plataea for about a year after its capture in 427 ; iii. 68. 3 τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐμμαντὸν μὲν τινα [Θηβαῖοι] Μεγαρέων ἀνδράσι κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεπτωκόσι . . . ἔδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν.

μὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὴν πόλιν φθεῖρην : we should say, 'not to allow their city to be ruined by the double attack.'

2 τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἔχεσθαι : 'to press this proposal.'

3 οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται : see note on 46. 4.

νομίζοντες ἐλάσσω σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον ἢ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ σφῶν κατελθεῖν : 'thinking that that course would be less dangerous to themselves than the recall of the party who had been expelled by them.' τὸν κίνδυνον means 'the danger of taking this step'. ἐκπίπτειν is the virtual passive of ἐκβάλλειν (hence the use of ὑπὸ with genitive), and κατελθεῖν of καταγαγεῖν.

ξυνέβησαν : this verb is constructed (1) with acc. and infin. ἐλεῖν Ἀθηναίους, (2) with infin. alone, πειρᾶσθαι ; cp. the similar use with ἡξίουσιν, 65. 4.

τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη : these walls had been built by the Athenians in 431-0, when the Megarians entered into alliance with them (i. 103. 4).

ἦν δὲ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτώ : genitive of quality or description.

Νίσαιαν: the port on the Saronic Gulf.

τὴν ἄνω πόλιν: Megara itself; cp. 54. 2.

ἔμελλον: sc. οἱ Μεγαρήϊς.

τούτου γεγενημένου: i. e. after the Athenians had seized the Long Walls.

7-69 *The Athenian forces lie in ambush near Megara. The Megarian traitors by a stratagem prevent the gate in the Long Wall from being shut, and the Athenians enter the space between the walls. The Peloponnesian garrison flees to Nisaea. The traitors are foiled in their scheme for opening the gates of Megara to the Athenians. The Athenians construct lines of circumvallation round Nisaea, which soon surrenders.*

7 I ἀπό τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων: 'in respect of (lit. from the direction of) acts and words.'

παρεσκεύαστο: impersonal passive, 'preparations were complete.'

Μινώαν τὴν Μεγαρίων νῆσον: this island had been occupied by the Athenians since 427 B. C. It was connected with the mainland by a causeway (γέφυρα) over the intervening shoals (τέναγος, iii. 51. 31; by this the Athenian force passed to the mainland.

ὅθεν ἐπλίνθουσιν τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ἀπέιχεν οὐ πολὺ: 'from which they got the bricks for the walls, and which was not far distant.' The imperfect ἐπλίνθουσιν probably refers to repairs made from time to time by the Megarians on the Long Walls built by the Athenians. From ὅθεν a nominative ὅ must be supplied as subject of ἀπέιχεν; the relative is regularly omitted (or else replaced by a demonstrative) in the second of two clauses when, if expressed, it would be in a different case from that used in the first clause.

2 Πλαταιῆς: 212 Plataeans escaped from their city during the siege in 428 and made their way to Athens (iii. 24. 2).

καὶ ἕτεροι περίπολοι: 'and men of the frontier-guard besides.' The περίπολοι garrisoned the forts and patrolled the frontiers of Attica; occasionally, as in this case and in the invasion of the Megarid under Myronides (i. 105. 4), they served abroad; but under ordinary circumstances their duties were restricted to home defence. They consisted of (1) the Attic ἔφηβοι in their twentieth year, (2) a certain number of aliens, possibly the sons of μέτοικοι;

e.g. the *περίπολος* who assassinated Phrynichus (viii. 92. 2) was an Aetolian (Lysias, xiii. 71).

ἐς τὸ Ἐνυάλιον : sc. *ἱερόν*, 'into the temple of Enyalios.' Ἐνυάλιος in Homer is sometimes an epithet of the war-god Ἄρης, sometimes another name for him ; later (e.g. in Aristophanes) Ἐνυάλιος is distinct from Ἄρης. The MSS. have τόν, which in itself would be possible (for the name of the deity is sometimes used instead of the name of the temple) ; but the neuter relative ὃ which follows is in favour of τό.

ἔλασσον ἄπωθεν : i. e. the temple was nearer than the clay-pit to the Long Walls.

οἱ ἄνδρες : the traitors in Megara.

εἰδέναι τὴν νύκτα ταύτην : 'to know (what was arranged for) that night.'

- 3 ἀκάτιον ἀμφηρικόν : 'a sculling-boat,' in which each of the crew used a pair of sculls (*δικωπία ἐρέσσει*, says the scholiast).

ὡς λησταί : 'pretending to be privateers.' One of the objects of the Athenian occupation of Minoa was to prevent privateering (*ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθεν λαμβάνοντες τριήρων τε . . . καὶ ληστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς*, iii. 51. 2).

ἐκ πολλοῦ τεθεραπευκότες τὴν ἀνοιξιν τῶν πυλῶν : 'having some time before arranged for the opening of the gates.' The gates meant are those in the Long Wall, near the junction of the latter with the town-wall of Nisaea.

τὸν ἄρχοντα : the commander of the Peloponnesian garrison (66. 3).

τῆς τάφρου : the ditch outside of, and parallel with, the town-wall of Nisaea. This would reach the sea at a point outside the harbour.

ἐς τὸ τεῖχος : 'into the fortification,' formed by the Long Walls.

ὅπως τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μινώας Ἀθηναίοις ἀφανὴς δὴ εἴη ἡ φυλακή : 'in order (as they pretended) that the Athenians in Minoa might be uncertain what they had to guard against.' For δῆ, cp. 46. 5.

- 4 καὶ τότε : the main narrative is now resumed after the explanation given in § 3.

ὡς τῷ ἀκατίῳ : 'ostensibly for the boat.' ὡς indicates that this was the thought in the minds of those who opened the gates.

ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος : 'in accordance with a preconcerted arrangement.'

κόλυμα οὔσα προσθεῖναι: 'preventing them from being shut.' προσθεῖναι is 'to put to' a door.

αὐτοῖς: dative of advantage with κτείνουσι; the Megarian confederates *helped* the Athenians by doing this.

- 5 οὐ νῦν τὸ τροπαῖον ἐστὶ: Jowett remarks that the Megarians allowed the trophy to stand, although they afterwards razed the Long Walls (109. 1).

τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίταις: the 600 under Hippocrates, who had farther to come than the troops of Demosthenes.

- 68 1 τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . ὁ αἰεὶ ἐντὸς γιγνόμενος: 'the Athenians as they got in one after another.' αἰεὶ, lit. 'from time to time'.

- 2 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον: answered by οἱ δ' ὡς ἤκουσαν, § 3.

ἀντίσχοντες ἡμύνοντο: the imperfect (C) is more appropriate than the aorist ἡμύναντο; and with it goes naturally the present ἀντίσχοντες (ἀντίσχω), not the aorist ἀντισχόντες.

τοὺς ἅπαντας σφᾶς Μεγαρέας προδεδωκέναι: 'that the Megarians as a whole had betrayed them.' ἅπαντας is emphasized by being separated from its noun by σφᾶς.

- 3 ξυνέπεσε: cp: the noun ξύμπτωμα, 36. 3.

ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης: 'of his own accord.'

θησόμενον τὰ ὅπλα: see note on 44. 1.

κοινῇ πολεμείσθαι: 'that they were being attacked by arrangement (between the Athenians and Megarians).'

- 4 οἱ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πράξαντες: 'the men who had made overtures to the Athenians.'

καὶ ἄλλο μετ' αὐτῶν πλῆθος, ὃ ξυνήδει: 'and with them the rest of the multitude, who were in the plot.' The article is not repeated with the second member of the subject, so that ἄλλο = τὸ ἄλλο. With the MSS. reading ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτῶν, πλῆθος ὃ ξυνήδει, the absence of the article with πλῆθος is difficult to justify.

- 5 ξυνέκειτο δὲ αὐτοῖς: i.e. the leaders of the πλῆθος had arranged with the Athenian generals.

λίπα γὰρ ἀλείψεσθαι: sc. ἔμελλον. λίπα is probably an adverb, 'richly,' 'thickly.' The expression is Homeric (generally with the addition of ἐλαίῳ), and is used by Thuc. i. 6. 5, where he says that the Spartans were the first to adopt the custom.

ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶνται: sc. by the Athenians.

ἀσφάλεια δὲ αὐτοῖς μάλλον ἐγίγνετο τῆς ἀνοιξέως: 'they could open

the gates with greater safety (than would otherwise have been possible).’ ἀσφάλεια τῆς ἀνοίξεως, lit. ‘safety in the opening’.

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλευσίνος: Eleusis was about 14 miles east of Megara.

κατὰ τὸ ξυγκείμενον: these words must go with πορευόμενοι; hence the article οἱ after ἐξακόσιοι should be omitted.

πορευόμενοι: imperfect participle, ‘who had been marching.’

6 τοῖς ἑτέροις: ‘the other party,’ i.e. the oligarchical party; cp. 48. 5.

καὶ οἱ: see note on 33. 2.

ἰσχύοντες μᾶλλον: ‘when their strength was greater,’ i.e. before the troubles mentioned in 66. 1.

εἴ τε μὴ πείσεται τις: the fut. indic. is usual in conditional clauses of threat or warning.

αὐτοῦ: adverb, ‘on the spot.’

οὐκ ἐγένετο . . . πράξαι: ‘they did not succeed in accomplishing.’

69 1 εἰ . . . ἐξέλοιεν: ‘if they reduced it’; ἐξ- denoting completion.

2 σίδηρος: i.e. iron tools, σιδήρια λιθουργά (4. 2).

ἀρξάμενοι δ’ ἀπὸ κτλ.: the rest of the section is a description of the circumvallation of Nisaea, explanatory of the general term περιετείχιζον in § 1. The sentence begins with plural participles, ἀρξάμενοι . . . διοικοδομήσαντες, agreeing either with οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί or with οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι understood; then comes a collective singular subject, διελομένη ἡ στρατιά; finally the plural is resumed with two participles and a finite verb, ἀπεσταύρουν. This last word belongs logically only to the clause beginning at κόπτοντες, though grammatically it is the principal verb of the sentence; accordingly many scholars think that another verb has dropped out, e.g. ἦγεν after διελομένη (Madvig), ἦγον after τείχη (Stahl), διῆγον (Steup).

τοῦ τείχους ὃ εἶχον: i.e. the Long Walls, τεῖχος being collective (‘the fortification’) as in 67. 3.

διοικοδομήσαντες τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας: ‘having walled off the part towards Megara,’ i.e. having built a wall between, and at right angles to, the Long Walls, so as to cut off communication between Megara and Nisaea.

ἀπ’ ἐκείνου: i.e. ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους.

τῆς Νισαίας: with ἐκατέρωθεν.

τάφρον τε καὶ τείχη διελομένη: ‘having divided among themselves (the work of constructing) a ditch and walls.’ The plural τείχη points to a double wall.

τὰ δένδρα καὶ ὕλην: 'the trees and brushwood'; or δένδρα may mean 'fruit-trees' (e. g. olives) as opposed to timber-trees.

εἴ πη δίοιτό τι: 'wherever any part required (fencing).'

ἐπάλξεις λαμβάνουσαι: 'admitting of parapets.'

αὐταί: 'as they were,' i. e. without the addition of parapets.

- 3 τὸ τεῖχος: again collective, 'the circumvallation,' including the τάφρον τε καὶ τείχη of § 2.

ὅσον οὐκ: 'all but.'

σίτου τε ἀπορία: dative of cause, parallel to the participles νομίζοντες and ἡγούμενοι.

ἕκαστον . . . παραδόντας: accusative, not nominative, because the subject of the infinitive ἀπολυθῆναι is not identical with the subject of ξυνέβησαν.

χρησθαι Ἀθηναίους ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται: the fate of these prisoners is unknown.

- 4 τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἀπορρήξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς . . . πόλεως: this may mean that the Athenians pulled down part of the Long Walls, or merely that by occupying them and constructing the transverse wall (§ 2) they had severed the connexion with Megara.

τὰλλα παρεσκευάζοντο: i. e. for the capture of Megara.

70-71 *Brasidas at Sicyon and Corinth prepares for a campaign in the Thraceward region. Hearing of the capture of Nisaea he asks aid of the Boeotians, and meanwhile enters the Megarid with the forces on the spot. Both parties in Megara refuse to admit him.*

- 70 I στρατείαν: 'an expedition.' All the MSS. have στρατιάν, which in prose means 'an army', and therefore does not suit ἐπὶ Θράκης.

πέμπει ἔς τε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς: strictly τε should be next to πέμπει. ἔς τοὺς B. = 'into the country of the Boeotians'.

Τριποδίσκον: WNW. of Megara, at the end of the pass over Mount Geraneia.

ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔχουσα: ὄνομα is predicative, as the absence of the article shows.

Κορινθίων . . . Φλιασίων . . . Σικυνώνων: these three peoples were contiguous, Phlius lying to the south of Sicyon, and Sicyon to the west of Corinth.

τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ὅσοι ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν: adding the 3,700

hoplites mentioned here to the 2,200 Boeotians of 72. 1, and subtracting from the total of (at least) 6,000 in 72. 2, we get (at least) 100 for Brasidas' own force at this stage: later it numbered 1,700 (78. 1).

- 2 ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο: the object ('the capture of Nisaea') is easily understood.

ἐξελθὼν may refer to quitting Corinth, or to emerging from the mountain-pass.

ὄντας περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν: causal, 'because they were near the sea.'

βουλόμενος μὲν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἅμα, εἰ δύναίτο, ἔργῳ τῆς Νισαίας πειρᾶσαι: 'professing a desire, and also really desiring, if he could do so, to make an attempt on Nisaea.'

τὸ δὲ μέγιστον: sc. βουλόμενος, 'but wishing above all,' lit. 'what was most important', explained by the infinitive clause which follows.

σφᾶς: the speaker and his followers.

- 71 1 στάσεις: in concrete sense, 'factions'; hence the masculine οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ in partitive apposition.

σφίσιν . . . αὐτοῦς: both pronouns refer to the democratic party, σφίσιν being dative of disadvantage.

ἐν μάχῃ καθ' αὐτὴν οὔσα: 'involved in civil war.'

περιδεῖν: 'to wait and see'; a sense in which the middle voice (cp. 73. 1) is more common.

ἤλπιζον: 'they expected.'

ἀσφαλεστέως ἔχειν: the infin. depends upon a verb of thinking (e.g. ἐνόμιζον) understood from ἤλπιζον. For the form of the comparative adverb cp. μειζόνως, 19. 4; ἐνδεστέως, 39. 2.

οἷς τις εἶη εὖνους, κρατήσασι προσχωρήσαι: 'to join the side to which one was friendly, after that side had won.' κρατήσασι agrees with τούτοις, understood as antecedent of οἷς.

ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα: i. e. the main body at Tripodiscus.

- 72 *Arrival of the Boeotian army. Defeat of the Athenian light-armed by the Boeotian cavalry, followed by an indecisive cavalry engagement.*

- 1 διανενοημένοι μὲν: this should strictly be answered by another participle; but owing to the length of the sentence the construction is changed to the finite verb ἐρρώσθησαν.

ὥς οὐκ ἄλλοτρίου ὄντος τοῦ κινδύνου : 'for they regarded the danger as one closely concerning themselves.'

ἤδη ὄντες : i. e. when the message came from Brasidas.

Πλαταιᾶσιν : locative. Plataea, in the south-west of Boeotia, was only a few miles from the Megarian border.

καὶ ἦλθεν : καί indicates a further reason for vigorous action, in addition to that given in the words ὥς οὐκ ἄλλοτρίου κτλ.

ἀποστέιλαντες : 'dispatching' to Tripodiscus.

τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀπηλθον πάλιν : the co-operation of Brasidas rendered it unnecessary to employ the full force of Boeotia.

- 2 παρόντος δὲ ἤδη : here the narrative is resumed from *παρήσαν* in § 1, after the intervening explanation.

ὁπλιτῶν οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐξακισχιλίων : in apposition with τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἥ being omitted after ἔλασσον without affecting the construction.

ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρὸ τοῦ : sc. χρόνῳ, 'for hitherto,' i. e. in all the previous annual invasions. In the phrase πρὸ τοῦ there is a relic of the pronominal use of *ὁ, ἡ, τό*. The parenthesis which begins with these words explains why the Athenian *ψιλοὶ* were scattered and unprepared.

- 3 οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων : sc. *ἱππῆς*; cp. 68. 5.

ἐπὶ πολὺ : 'for a long time.'

- 4 προσελάσαντας : the MSS. have *προσελάσαντες*, but (1) the Athenians would not be described as 'riding close up to Nisaea', which was their own base; (2) it would be unnatural to take the participle as transitive, 'having driven the Boeotian cavalry-commander,' &c.

[καὶ] ἀποκτείναντες : when *προσελάσαντες* had got into the text, the addition of καί would be natural. If genuine it means 'both', and corresponds to the καί before τῶν τε νεκρῶν.

ἐν γὰρ τῇ παντὶ ἔργῳ : 'in the engagement as a whole.'

βεβαίως . . . τελευτήσαντες : 'having come to a decisive finish.'

ἀπεκρίθησαν : 'separated'; only here in the sense of *διεκρίθησαν* (14. 4 and 25. 10).

ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ . . . Νίσαιαν : the force of ἀλλά seems to be that the engagement ended, not with a decisive victory for either side, *but* in the retirement of each side upon its main body.

73-74 *Brasidas takes up a position near Megara, congratulating himself on running no avoidable risk and on the probability of saving Megara. The Athenians decline battle, thinking the risk too great, and retire to Nisaea. The oligarchical party in Megara open the gates to Brasidas and his colleagues. Both armies quit the Megarid. The exiles are recalled, and an oligarchical government is established at Megara.*

73 I ἐγγυτέρω τῆς θαλάσσης: they marched in a south-easterly direction from Tripodiscus.

παρταξάμενοι ἡσύχαζον: 'they formed in order of battle, but did not assume the offensive.'

περιορωμένους: see note on περιδεῖν, 71. I.

2 ἀμφοτέρα: this word is explained by the clauses introduced by αἶμα μὲν and ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ (equivalent to αἶμα δέ).

ἔδειξαν ἐτοῖμοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι: '(by forming in order of battle) they had shown their readiness to repel an attack.'

καὶ αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀκονιτὶ τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἂν τίθεσθαι: 'and (they thought) that the victory would be justly assigned to them without a blow, as it were.' The infinitive here depends on ἐνόμιζον, instead of being parallel to τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἀκονιτί, 'without the dust of combat,' is a metaphor from the palaestra; cp. Dem. *de Cor.* 200, εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτί; Hor. *Ep.* i. 1. 51 *cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae*. τίθεσθαι is used in the sense of ἀνατίθεσθαι or προστίθεσθαι.

ὁρθῶς ξυμβαίνειν: impersonal, repeating the notion of καλῶς . . . ἔχειν above.

3 οὐκ ἂν ἐν τύχῃ γίγνεσθαι σφίσιν: lit. '(the matter) would not have been for them in the region of chance', i. e. they would not have had a chance (of saving Megara).

ὥσπερ ἡσσηθέντων: sc. σφῶν, 'as if they had been defeated.' Instead of the genitive absolute we might have had the nominative agreeing with the subject of στερηθῆναι.

νῦν δέ: 'but as matters were.'

αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους: 'the Athenians on their part.'

ἂν περιγενέσθαι: 'would come about.'

4 οἱ γὰρ Μεγαρήs: this subject is dropped owing to the length of the subordinate sentence beginning with ὥς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and is not

resumed until line 15 with the words οἱ τῶν φευγόντων φίλοι Μεγαρήs.

μὴ ἐπιόντων: sc. τῶν Πελοποννησίων.

λογιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων στρατηγοί: loosely in apposition to οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον: i. e. the Athenians had more to risk than the enemy.

τὰ πλείω: the capture of Nisaea and of the Long Walls.

πρὸς πλέονας αὐτῶν: the Athenians had (besides Plataeans and περίπολοι) 4,600 hoplites, the enemy at least 6,000; each side had 600 cavalry.

τῷ βελτίστῳ: dative of respect with βλαφθῆναι.

τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον κινδυνεύειν εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν: 'whereas in the case of the enemy each part of their whole force and of the troops then present was naturally willing to dare to risk (fighting)'; i. e. each contingent (e. g. Corinthians, Sicyonians) formed but a small part (1) of the whole force of the Peloponnesian league and (2) of the army now under Brasidas; hence (1) the whole of Brasidas' army might be defeated without ruining ξυμπᾶσα ἡ δύναμις, and (2) part of Brasidas' army might be defeated without the remainder of it suffering.

ἐπισχόντες: sc. ἐκάτεροι.

ἀφ' ἐκατέρων: 'on either side.'

οὕτω δὲ: this sums up the preceding passage from ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι in line 4.

τῷ μὲν Βρασίδᾳ αὐτῷ: Brasidas without his troops.

ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων: Corinth, Phlius, Sicyon, and the Boeotian states.

ἐπικρατήσαντι: singular, because Brasidas is the prominent person.

74 2 ἀποχωρησάντων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων: they of course left detachments to garrison Nisaea and the Long Walls.

τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: 'the intrigues with the Athenians'; cp. πράξαντες, 68. 4, and πραξάντων at end of 73. The absence of the article before the attributive πρὸς τοὺς Ἀ. may be explained by the verbal force in the noun πραγμάτων.

μηδὲν μνησικακήσειν: the usual expression for an amnesty. The negative with the infinitive is regularly μὴ after verbs of swearing.

- 3 ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐγένοντο : 'after they had entered upon office.'
 ἐξέτασιν ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο : the citizens would lay down their arms for the purpose of inspection, and these would then be seized by the oligarchical party.

διαστήσαντες τοὺς λόχους : the separation of the battalions was probably effected by making each parade in a different part of the city.

τῶν τε ἐχθρῶν : partitive genitive with ἐκατόν.

ψῆφον φανεράν διενεγκεῖν : 'to give an open vote,' opposed to κρύφα διαψηφισάμενοι, 88. 1. The regular expression for giving a vote is ψῆφον φέρειν (*suffragium ferre*); the compound διαφέρειν means 'to vote on one side or the other'.

τὰ μάλιστα : 'extremely.'

- 4 πλείστον δὴ χρόνον : how long the oligarchy lasted is unknown. At the time when Thucydides wrote the sentence it had ceased to exist.

αὕτη . . . μετάστασις : there is no article, because the noun is predicative ; cp. i. 1. 2 κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο.

ὑπ' ἐλαχίστων γενομένη : 'effected by a very small number of men.'

ἐκ στάσεως μετάστασις : 'changed constitution following upon a state of faction.' For the play upon words cp. (with Classen) ii. 62. 3 μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι ; iii. 39. 2 ἐπανεστήσαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν, and see note on 29. 2.

- 75 *Recovery of Antandrus by the Athenians. Lamachus loses some ships in the territory of Heracleia, and leads his army to Calchedon.*

- I τῆς Ἀντάνδρου : cp. 52. 3.

τῶν Μυτιληναίων : i. e. the exiles mentioned in 52. 2.

κατασκευάζεσθαι : lit. 'to be thoroughly equipped,' to be put into a good condition for standing a siege ; cp. 52. 3 κρατυνάμενοι αὐτήν.

οἱ τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί : νεῶν is absent from all MSS. except E, which has Ἀθηναῖοι νεῶν ; but the word could hardly be understood. It is expressed in iii. 19. 1 and iv. 50. 1, the only other passages in Thucydides where ἀργυρολόγος occurs. The omission of ναῦς with ἱππαγωγός and πεντηκόντορος is not a parallel, for these words distinctly suggest 'ships.' Neither can ἀργυρολόγων

be taken as qualifying 'Ἀθηναίων: Thucydides would not have spoken of 'the commanders of the money-collecting Athenians.'

Δημόδοκος . . . Ἀριστείδης . . . Λάμαχος: the first of these is not mentioned elsewhere; Aristides has been already mentioned in 50. 1; Lamachus is the general who fell at Syracuse.

τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ χωρίου: παρασκευή is often used, as here, of military preparations.

ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς δεινὸν εἶναι: 'they thought there was danger.' δεινὸν ἐστὶ is followed (like a verb of fearing) by μή with the subjunctive.

ὥσπερ τὰ Ἀναία ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ: sc. ἐγένετο. Anaea was on the mainland opposite Samos, and was occupied by a band of Samian exiles; cp. iii. 32. 2 Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίων. ἐπί implies hostility, 'a menace to Samos.'

γένηται: sc. ἐπὶ τῇ Λέσβῳ.

τοὺς ἐξιόντας: 'the fugitives.'

οὕτω δὴ: summing up the passage from ὡς ἡσθάνοντο to ἐδέχοντο.

2 οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον: with ἀπόλλυσι, not with ἐσπλεύσας, as is clear from the pluperfect ἐσεπεπλεύκει in § 1.

ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλεώτιδι: sc. γῇ, 'in the territory of Heracleia,' a Megarian colony on the coast of Bithynia.

ὁρμίσας ἐς τὸν Κάλητα: ὁρμίσας (transitive) is to be preferred to the other reading ὁρμήσας (intrans.), as Thucydides elsewhere uses the former with ἐς, the latter with ἐν. As the name of the river the MSS. give Κάληκα; the form Κάλητα occurs in Arrian.

τὰς ναῦς: object of ὁρμίσας as well as of ἀπόλλυσι.

ὕδατος ἄνωθεν γενομένου: 'as there had been a fall of rain.' ἄνωθεν = (1) ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, or (2) 'up-country'. ὕδωρ alone could mean 'rain'.

κατελθόντος αἰφνιδίου: for the adjective where we should use an adverb, cp. πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, 22. 2.

διὰ Βιθυνῶν Θρακῶν, οἱ εἰσι πέραν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ: the Bithynians were a Thracian people who had crossed from Europe into Asia. πέραν, 'on the other side' of the Bosphorus.

Καλχηδόνα: this, not Χαλκηδόνα, is the form found in Attic inscriptions. It was on the east side of the Bosphorus, facing the other Megarian colony of Byzantium.

76 *A fleet under Demosthenes arrives at Naupactus, in furtherance of a scheme arranged by Hippocrates and Demosthenes with Boeotian revolutionists. Siphac and Chaeroneia are to be betrayed to the Athenians, who are to occupy Delium. It is hoped that a revolution in Boeotia will be the result.*

I ἐς Ναύπακτον : Demosthenes' object in going to Naupactus is not given till 77. 1. The rest of this chapter explains the circumstances which led to this movement.

2 τῷ γὰρ Ἴπποκράτει καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὰ Βοιωτία πράγματα . . . ἐπράσσετο : 'the affairs of Boeotia were being made the subject of intrigue with Hippocrates and him.' The dative is here equivalent to πρὸς with the accusative (68. 4).

ἀπὸ τινων ἀνδρῶν : 'on the part of certain men'; cp. οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἐκατέρων ἐπεχειρεῖτο, 73. 4.

τὸν κόσμον : 'the (established) order'; cp. viii. 48. 4 ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν πόλιν μεταστήσας.

ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι : sc. ἐδημοκρατοῦντο.

Πτοιοδώρου . . . ἐσηγουμένου : 'at the instigation of Ptoeodorus.' ἐσηγεῖσθαι is 'to introduce a proposal' (*auctorem esse*).

αὐτοῖς : 'by them,' referring both to the Boeotian democrats and to the Athenian generals.

3 τῷ Κρισαίῳ κόλπῳ : the original name of what was afterwards called the Corinthian Gulf; from Κρίσα, the Phocian town in whose territory lay the temple of Delphi.

Χαιρώνειαν : in the extreme west of Boeotia, a few miles from Orchomenus.

Ὀρχομένον τὸν Μινύειον πρότερον καλούμενον, νῦν δὲ Βοιώτιον : this description is added because there was another Orchomenus in Arcadia. The Minyae inhabited Orchomenus in the heroic age, and the city retained its independence long after the Boeotian invaders from Epirus had made themselves masters of the rest of the district known by their name. At length it was forced to join the Boeotian league (about 600 B.C.).

ξυντελεῖ : 'pays tribute'; cp. ii. 15. 2 (of the people of Attica) ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτήν (i.e. to Athens). Besides the sovereign states which were members of the Boeotian League, there were smaller towns dependent on one or other of the sovereign states.

ἐνεδίδοσαν : imperfect of intended action.

ἔστι δὲ ἡ Χαιρώνεια ἔσχατον τῆς Βοιωτίας : for the neuter predicate cp. i. 10. 1 Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν.

τῇ Φανοτίδι : sc. γῇ, 'the territory of Phanoteus' (cp. 89. 1).

4 ἔδει : 'were bound' (by the agreement which they had made).

ταῦτα : i. e. the occupation of Siphæ, Chaeroneia, and Delium.

5 ῥᾷδίως : with οὐ μενεῖν and καταστήσειν.

νεωτερίζοιτο : all MSS. except F have νεωτερίζοι, but the idiom of Thucydides requires the passive (cp. 41. 3 νεωτερισθῇ) : in none of the numerous instances of the active voice does he use it intransitively.

ἐκάστοις : i. e. the democratic party in each of the Boeotian states ; cp. τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι below.

διὰ βραχέος : 'at a short distance' ; cp. 14. 1.

κατὰ χώραν : 'in their present position' : here figuratively ; cp. 14. 5 for the literal use.

77 *Oeniadae is forced to join the Athenian alliance. Demosthenes marches against the Agraeans.*

1 τοιαύτη : predicative, 'in this way.'

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως : with στρατεύειν.

ἐς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς : see note on 70. 1.

ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσίν : they have been already mentioned in 76. 1 ; hence the article.

ὡς προδοθησομένας : 'in the expectation that it would be betrayed.'

αὐτοῖς εἶρητο : 'had been named for them.'

2 ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης : answered by Βρασίδας δέ, 78. 1.

Οἰνιάδας δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀκαρνάνων πάντων κατηναγκασμένους καταλάβων : strictly τε should come immediately after Οἰνιάδας ; but that position is already occupied by δέ, which contrasts the state of things which Demosthenes found with the fact of his arrival. The Oeniadae inhabited a town of the same name, in the south of Acarnania, in the midst of a marsh near the mouth of the Achelous ; they had been hostile to Athens throughout the war.

ἀναστήσας : 'having called to arms.'

ἐπὶ Σαλύνθιον καὶ Ἀγραίους : Salynthius was king of the Agraeans,

an Aetolian tribe inhabiting the district adjoining Acarnania on the north-east, and friendly to the Peloponnesians.

προσποιησάμενος: 'having brought them over to his side.'

ὥς . . . ἀπαντησόμενος: 'with the intention of presenting himself at Siphac.' ἀπαντάω is often used in this way without a dative of the person met. ἐπί has the accusative because previous motion is implied.

78-79 *Brasidas enters Thessaly on his way to Thrace, and is guided by Thessalian sympathizers. Their opponents try to stop him, but he reaches Chalcidice. Motives of the Chalcidians and of Perdiccas in calling in the aid of Brasidas.*

78 1 πορευόμενος: 'in the course of his march.'

ἐπτακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις: for the composition of this force see 80. 5.

ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης: see note on c. 7.

ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ ἐν Τραχίνι: near the head of the Malian Gulf, a few miles west of Thermopylae. The Spartans had founded a colony here in 426 B.C. (iii. 92).

ἐς Φάρσαλον παρὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους: there was a philo-Spartan party in Pharsalus; but the majority, as in most of the Thessalian cities, was friendly to Athens.

ἐς Μελίτειαν τῆς Ἀχαΐας: i. e. in Achaia Phthiotis. Meliteia was half way between Heracleia and Pharsalus.

πρόξενος ὦν Χαλκιδέων: as the expedition of Brasidas was intended to help the Chalcidians, it was natural that their πρόξενος at Pharsalus should interest himself on Brasidas' behalf.

τότε δὴ ἐπορεύετο: 'then, and not till then, he continued his march.'

2 ἄλλως τε . . . καὶ μετὰ ὅπλων γε δὴ: 'under any circumstances . . . and of course with arms.'

ὑποπτον καθειστῆκει: 'it was matter for suspicion'; cp. 26. 7 ἀφειδῆς . . . καθειστῆκει.

τῶν πέλας: 'their neighbours,' not of course in the local sense, but equivalent to 'other people'.

μὴ πείσαντας: 'without obtaining their consent.'

αἰεί ποτε: cp. 57. 4.

3 δυναστεία: the term indicates a narrow oligarchy, in which poli-

tical power is enjoyed by a small number of families who are above the law ; cp. iii. 62. 3 (speech of the Thebans), ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. Aristotle (*Pol.* vi. 5. 2) says that δυναστεία arises ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσῇ καὶ ἄρχῃ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οἱ ἄρχοντες, and that it is related to other forms of oligarchy as 'tyranny' is to other forms of monarchy. Examples of powerful Thessalian families are the Aleuadae at Larissa and the Scopadae at Crannon.

ἰσονομία : 'equality of rights,' as in a democracy.

τὸ ἐγχώριον : adverbial accusative, 'in accordance with the custom of their country.'

καὶ τότε : 'even as it was,' i.e. even though the Thessalian states were governed by δυναστεῖαι.

ἄλλοι τῶν τάναντία τούτοις βουλομένων : 'others, belonging to the opposite party.' τοῖτοις refers to Panaerus, &c., mentioned in § 1. For this use of βούλομαι to indicate political aims cp. ii. 79. 2 τῶν οὐ ταῦτ' ἀβουλομένων ; vi. 50. 3 ἄνδρες τὰ Συρακοσίων βουλόμενοι.

ἄνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ : 'without the consent of the general body,' i.e. some form of central government for the various Thessalian states.

4 ἀκόντων : the plural refers to the collective τοῦ κοινοῦ.

οὐ μέντοι ἀξιοῦν γε εἶργεσθαι : 'he expected, however, not to be prevented.' The negative is put with the main verb in Greek ; cp. οὐ φημι.

5 πρὶν τι πλείον ξυστῆναι τὸ κωλύσον : 'before any larger force mustered to check him.'

εἰς Φάρσαλόν τε ἐτέλεσε : sc. ὁδόν ; cp. the use of ἀνέω without an accusative.

Φάκιον : a town near the junction of the Enipeus and the Apidanus.

Περραιβίαν : the most northerly district of Thessaly.

6 ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου : 'from this point.'

Δίον : near the coast of the Thermaic Gulf, north-east of Mount Olympus. The usual route to this point from Pharsalus was by way of Larissa and the Vale of Tempe, where resistance might

easily have been offered ; hence Brasidas chose the more westerly route.

Μακεδονίας : with πόλισμα.

πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς : 'towards Thessaly.'

79 2 ὥς τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡτύχει : at Sphacteria.

οἱ τε ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀφειστώτες Ἀθηναίων : the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans (c. 7) revolted along with Potidaea in 432 B.C. (i. 58. 1).

ἐξήγαγον : 'had brought.'

αὐτῶν : with πλησιόχωροι.

ξυνεπήγον : cp. I. 3 ξυνεπαγόντων.

πολέμιος μὲν οὐκ ὦν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ : Perdiccas had been reconciled to the Athenians and fought with them against the Chalcidians in 431 (ii. 29. 6).

τὰ παλαιὰ διάφορα τῶν Ἀθηναίων : 'his old differences with the Athenians.' The cause of quarrel was that the Athenians had made an alliance with his brother Philip and with Derdas (i. 57. 3).

Λυγκηστῶν : one of several tribes of Upper Macedonia, each with a king of its own ; Perdiccas was their over-lord (ii. 99. 2).

3 ξυνέβη αὐτοῖς : 'happened fortunately for them.'

80-81 *The Spartans were induced to send an army to Chalcidice because it would divert the Athenians from Peloponnesus, and would enable them to get rid of some Helots. An illustration of their dread of a Helot revolt. Brasidas was given the command because of his energy. His great services to Sparta both in this campaign, and subsequently by his reputation.*

80 I ἐγκειμένων τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ : the reference is to the Athenian occupation of Methone (45. 2), Pylos, and Cythera.

ἀποτρέψειν : so G ; the other MSS. vary between ἀποτρέψαι and ἀποστρέψαι. The latter would mean 'make them go back'.

ετοίμων ὄντων : sc. τῶν ξυμμάχων.

ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει : 'with a view to revolting.'

2 τῶν Εἰλώτων : partitive genitive with ἐκπέμψαι.

βουλομένοις ἦν : sc. αὐτοῖς, 'it was their wish,' lit. 'it was to them wishing', an instance of the Greek fondness for the personal construction. See note on 28. 5 ἀσμένους.

ἐπὶ προφάσει : 'on a pretext.'

πρὸς τὰ παρόντα : 'in view of existing circumstances.'

- 3 ἐπεὶ : this word introduces an argument *a fortiori* to support the statement made in § 2.

τόδε : explained by the passage beginning at προεῖπον and continuing to the end of § 4.

σκαλιότητα : 'stupidity,' properly mental clumsiness, opposed to δεξιότης, 'quickness of apprehension.' Only a stupid people, blind to the probable consequences, would think of rising in revolt against the Spartans. The other reading νεότητα would mean, 'youthful spirit,' 'impetuosity.'

αἰεὶ γὰρ . . . καθιστήκει : 'for at all times the majority of the Lacedaemonian institutions had for their chief object security against the Helots.'

ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις : the MSS. have πολεμίους, which is explained (1) as neuter, 'in military matters,' (2) as masculine, 'in dealing with the enemy.'

γεγενῆσθαι σφίσιν ἄριστοι : 'to have done them most service.'

κρίνεσθαι : 'should be selected.'

ὡς ἐλευθερώσοντες : agreeing with the subject of προεῖπον. The pretext given in these words is contrasted with the real reason πείραν ποιούμενοι καὶ ἡγούμενοι κτλ.

ὑπὸ φρονήματος : 'from high spirit.'

οὔτερ καὶ ἡξίωσαν . . . μάλιστα ἂν καὶ ἐπιθέσθαι : the use of καὶ in both clauses serves to mark the identity of the subject in both cases, which is also indicated by οὔτερ.

πρῶτος ἕκαστος : singular, as often, in apposition with the plural subject of ἡξίωσαν.

- 4 προκρίναντες : 'having made a selection from this number.' The participle belongs only to the second part of the sentence (οἱ δὲ . . . ἡφάνισαν), the first part (οἱ μὲν . . . ἡλευθερωμένοι) being subordinate in thought.

ἡφάνισάν τε αὐτούς : 'made away with them,' lit. 'made them disappear'. Cp. viii. 38. 1 ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλῃτι ἀφανίζεται ('vanishes.' i. e. 'is lost at sea').

οὐδείς ᾔσθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη : probably the Ephors employed the κρυπτεία, 'secret police,' composed of Spartans between eighteen and twenty years of age, whose duty was to patrol the country in bands day and night and remove any Helot who was

considered dangerous. In order to legalize this procedure, war was declared against the Helots by the Ephors every year. Diodorus (xii. 68) says that the chief Spartans were ordered to kill the Helots, each in his own house; but his statement is worthless. There is nothing to indicate the date of this massacre: Grote puts it after the capture of Spacteria.

5 καὶ τότε: the narrative is now resumed from the end of § 2.

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους: 1,000 in number, as appears from 78. 1.

μισθῷ πείσας: the pay would be provided by the Chalcidians (80. 1).

81 1 προυθυμήθησαν: sc. ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτόν.

δραστήριον: 'vigorous,' 'energetic.' In ii. 63. 3 τὸ δραστήριον is contrasted with τὸ ἄπραγμον, 'inaction.'

ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθε: 'when he had gone on foreign service,' referring to this (the final) expedition of Brasidas.

γενόμενον: the aorist participle here indicates time prior to the time of writing, not prior to the time of the main verb ἀπέστειλαν; 'a man . . . who proved (*not* had proved) invaluable.' This is clear from the details given in the next sentence.

2 τὸ τε γὰρ παραυτίκα: answered by ἔς τε τὸν χρόνον ὕστερον . . . πόλεμον.

τὰ πολλά, τὰ δέ: both these accusatives are to be joined with τῶν χωρίων.

γίγνεσθαι: the subject of this infinitive consists of the three nouns ἀνταπόδοσιν, ἀποδοχὴν, and λώφησιν.

ἐυμβαίνειν τε . . . χωρίων: these words form one expression which is connected by τε . . . καί with the other expression τοῦ πολέμου . . . λώφησιν. ἐυμβαίνειν = 'to come to terms'.

ὅπερ ἐποίησαν: 'as they actually did,' in 421 B. C.

τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λώφησιν: 'relaxation of the war (by removing it to Chalcidice) from Peloponnesus.'

μετὰ τὰ ἐκ Σικελίας: 'after the Sicilian expedition.'

ἀρετή: 'generosity'; cp. 19. 2.

τῶν μὲν: the Chalcidians, as opposed to the other allies of Athens (τῶν δέ).

ἀκοῇ νομισάντων: 'believing in consequence of what they had heard.'

3 πρῶτος γὰρ ἐξελθών: the rhythm of the sentence is against separating πρῶτος from ἐξελθών and joining it with ἐγκατέλιπε. The mean-

ing is that Brasidas was the first Spartan commander who went out to the allies of Athens.

ἐγκατέλιπε: 'left behind him' in the minds of these allies.

εἰσιν: present tense in *oratio obliqua* after ἐλπίδα.

82-83 *Athens declares war on Perdiccas. Campaign of Perdiccas and Brasidas against Arrhabaeus. Dispute between Perdiccas and Brasidas about a conference with Arrhabaeus.*

82 δ' οὖν: the regular formula for resuming after a digression.

τόν τε Περδίκκαν πολέμιον ποιοῦνται: 'declare Perdiccas an enemy.'

τῆς παρόδου: 'the march along the coast' from Dium to Chalcidice.

φυλακὴν πλείονα: 'a closer watch.'

83 1 ὅμορον ὄντα: the Lyncestians dwelt north-west of the kingdom of Perdiccas.

2 ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ τῆς Λύγκου: 'at the pass into Lyncus' (the name of Arrhabaeus' kingdom); cp. 127. 2 τὴν ἐσβολήν, ἣ ἐστὶ μεταξὺ δυοῖν λόφοιν στενὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀρραβαίου.

λόγοις: 'by negotiation'; emphatic by position, but belonging to ξύμμαχον ποιῆσαι.

3 Βρασίδα μέσῳ δικαστῇ ἐπιτρέπειν: 'to entrust (the matter) to Brasidas as a neutral arbitrator.'

τὰ δεινά: 'the grounds of his fear.'

4 τι . . . τοιοῦτον: explained by the following clause ὥς . . . ποιήσοι.

ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου: 'in these circumstances.'

κοινῇ μᾶλλον: 'jointly (with Perdiccas) rather (than acting under his orders).'

5 οὕτε: answered by τε after ἀδικήσιν; the intervening clause introduced by μᾶλλον δέ contrasts the nouns δικαστὴν and καθαιρέτην.

τὸ ἕμισυ: the other half would be maintained by the Chalcidians (80. 1).

ξυνίσται Ἀρραβαίῳ: 'he shall have dealings with Arrhabaeus.'

6 ἄκοντος: sc. τοῦ Περδίκκου.

ἐκ διαφορᾶς: 'after a difference' with him.

τοῖς λόγοις: by the statements of Arrhabaeus.

ἀδικεῖσθαι: in a quasi-perfect sense, as often: 'that he had been wronged.'

- 84 *Brasidas arrives before Acanthus, where feeling is divided; but he is allowed to enter without his army and address the Assembly.*

1 καὶ Χαλκιδέας : besides his own force.

Ἄκανθον : near the neck of Acte, the easternmost peninsula of Chalcidice. It was founded in 654 B.C. by Andros (the island south-east of Euboea), which was itself colonized from Eretria.

2 διὰ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δέος : 'in consequence of their fear for their crop,' i.e. the grapes. The genitive is used instead of περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ (88. 1).

αὐτὸν μόνον : without his army.

ἀκούσαντας : the accusative, not the nominative, is used, because the participle refers not only to the subject τὸ πλῆθος, but to all the Acanthians.

καταστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος : 'appearing before the assembly.'

ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν : 'and he was not a bad speaker either, for a Lacedaemonian.' οὐδέ, 'not . . . either,' implies a reference to his other good qualities. ὥς has a limiting force, 'considering that he was a Lacedaemonian'; his powers as a speaker were great, not absolutely, but relatively to the standard of Sparta. Cp. i. 10. 5 (of the numbers who sailed against Troy) οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες, ὥς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι. *Ut* is similarly used in Latin; e.g. Nepos, *Ephr.* 5. 2 *Meneclidas, satis exercitatus in dicendo, ut Thebanus scilicet*; Cic. *de Sen.* 4. 12 [*erant in Fabio*] *multae, ut in homine Romano, litterae.*

- 85 *Speech of Brasidas. 'We have come in pursuance of the Spartan policy to liberate Greece: we would have come earlier, had it been possible. I am surprised that you do not welcome our assistance. Your attitude will prejudice me in the eyes of the other Chalcidians. That I can help you has been proved at Nisaea.'*

1 ἡ μὲν ἔκπεψις . . . ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων . . . γέγνηται : this is the passive form corresponding to τὴν ἔκπεψιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεποίηται; see note on 16. 1.

τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπαληθεύουσα : 'in substantiation of the reason (for hostilities)'; what the reason was is explained by the words ἐλευθεροῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου: lit. 'when we began our military operations'. The active ἄρχοντες τοῦ πολέμου would mean 'when we began the war' as the aggressors.

προεΐπομεν: in ii. 8. 4 Thucydides says that the general feeling was in favour of the Spartans, ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῖσιν.

- 2 χρόνῳ ἐπήλθομεν: 'we have been long in coming.' χρόνῳ = διὰ χρόνου, 'after the lapse of a considerable time.'

σφαλέντες τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πολέμου δόξης: 'because we have been disappointed in the expectation to which the war at home had given rise.' ἀπό = 'arising from', 'grounded on'. ἐκεῖ means 'in Attica and Peloponnesus'.

ἦ . . . ἡλπίσαμεν Ἀθηναίους καθαιρήσειν: the words ἦ ἡλπίσαμεν are practically a repetition of τῆς δόξης; cp. Cic. *pro Planc.* 26. 65 *hac spe* decedebam, *ut* mihi populum Romanum ultro omnia delaturum *putarem*.

μεμφθῆ: the passive form of the aorist of μέμφομαι is used by Herodotus and Euripides, but occurs only here in Thucydides. Elsewhere he always has the middle form.

ὅτε παρέσχεν: impersonal, 'when it was possible.'

- 3 θαυμάζω δὲ τῇ τε ἀποκλήσει μου τῶν πυλῶν: the dative of cause with θαυμάζω, instead of the accusative, is a very rare construction; it occurs with the passive in vii. 63. 3 ἡμῶν τῆς τε φωνῆς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῶν τρόπων τῇ μιμήσει ἐθαυμάζεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. μου is objective genitive, τῶν πυλῶν genitive of separation.

καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀσμένους ὑμῖν ἀφίγμαι: 'and that you do not welcome my arrival.' εἰ after θαυμάζω is almost equivalent to ὅτι. With ἀσμένους ὑμῖν ἀφίγμαι cp. 28. 5 ἀσμένους . . . ἐγίγνετο, and 80. 2 βουλομένοις ἦν; this use of the dative is found with verbs of coming, appearing, and happening, as well as with εἶμι and γίγνομαι.

- 4 οἰόμενοι τε παρὰ ξυμμάχους . . . ἤξιν καὶ βουλομένοις ἔσσεσθαι: since οἰόμενοι belongs to both the infinitives, τε strictly should stand after παρὰ. The subject of ἔσσεσθαι is easily supplied—τὸ ἥκειν, 'our arrival.' βουλομένοις is used as in 80. 2.

ξυμμάχους, καὶ πρὶν ἔργῳ ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ γοῦν γνώμῃ: 'men who, even before our actual arrival, were allies at least in spirit.'

κίνδυνόν [τε] τοσόνδε ἀνερίψαμεν . . . ἰόντες καὶ . . . παρεχόμενοι: the two participles do not stand in the same relation to the principal verb;

ἰόντες goes closely with it, defining the nature of the danger ; but παρεχόμενοι takes the place of a finite verb parallel with ἀνερρίψαμεν. The expression is illogical, but may be accounted for by assimilation to ἰόντες ; it is then possible to retain τε, and to regard τε . . . καί as coupling the two ideas, (1) the incurring of danger, (2) the display of zeal.

ἀνερρίψαμεν : a metaphor from dice ; cp. Plut. *Cacs.* 32 ἀνερρίφθω κύβος (*iacta esto alca*). In the figurative sense ἀναρρίπτω (-έω) is used with or without κίνδυνον : cp. v. 103. 1 τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι, 'those who stake their all.'

πᾶν τὸ πρόθυμον : = πᾶσαν προθυμίαν.

- 5 εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν νῶ ἔχετε : i. e. if you do not intend to be our allies.

δεινὸν ἂν εἴη : after the indicatives in the protasis we should expect an indicative in the apodosis ; but the optative with ἂν is often substituted, with the effect of modifying the bluntness of the assertion.

- 6 οὐ μόνον ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀνθίστασθε : '(there is) not only (the fact) that you yourselves offer resistance.' Cp. Plato, *Symph.* 179 B καὶ μὴν ὑπεραποθνήσκειν γε μόνου ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ἐρῶντες, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. Stahl reads οὐχ ὅτι ('not only'), regarding μόνον as a gloss.

οἷς ἂν ἐπίω, ἡσσόν τις ἐμοὶ πρόσεισι : 'whatever people I visit will be less likely to join me.' The change from the plural to the singular is easy, τις referring to the indefinite antecedent of οἷς ; in the next clause the plural is resumed with ποιοῦμενοι.

δυσχερὲς ποιοῦμενοι : = δυσχεραίνοντες. It is constructed with εἰ almost in the sense of ὅτι ; cp. θαυμάζω . . . εἰ, § 3.

ἐπὶ οὓς πρῶτον ἦλθον ὑμᾶς : instead of ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ οὓς πρῶτον ἦλθον.

παρεχομένους : see note on 64. 1.

τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ἔξω πιστὴν ἀποδεικνύναι : 'I shall not be able to give a *credible* reason' (1) for your refusal to admit me to Acanthus, or (2) for my appearance with an army in Chalcidice, the reference according to the latter explanation being to the plea that the Spartans were the liberators of Hellas (cp. τὴν αἰτίαν, § 1). The effect of the predicative position of the adjective in Greek is given by making the adjective in English emphatic ; it is taken for granted (by τὴν) that Brasidas will be able to give some sort of reason, and the only question is as to its adequacy.

ἀλλ' ἢ . . . ἐπιφέρειν ἢ . . . ἀφίχθαι : these infinitives probably depend on δόξω (or the like) understood from αἰτίαν . . . ἔξω . . .

ἀποδεικνύναι. It is not likely that αἰτίαν ἔξω is to be supplied in this sentence in the sense of 'I shall be blamed'.

ἄδικον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπιφέρειν: 'that the independence which I am bringing involves wrongdoing' by the Spartans to the Chalcidians.

- 7 καίτοι . . . ἀποστείλαι: this section refutes the second of the two suggestions at the end of § 6; the answer to the first is given in 86. 1.

στρατιᾷ γε τῇδε . . . πλέονες ὄντες: neither of these statements is correct. (1) The army which Brasidas had in the Megarid contained only a part of the force which he led to Chalcidice (cp. 70. 1 τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ὅσοι ἦδ' ἐξυνηλεγμένοι ἦσαν); the bulk of it consisted of allies. (2) The Athenian force was inferior in numbers; see note on πρὸς πλέονας, 73. 4. See 108. 5 for Thucydides' comment on this. The absence of the article with στρατιᾷ τῇδε should be noticed; the noun is put first for the sake of contrast with αὐτός at the beginning of ch. 86, and the demonstrative is added (just as the article and epithet are often added). The dative goes both with βοηθήσαντος and with προσμείζαι.

ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς νηίτη γε . . . ἀποστείλαι: the consequence is carelessly stated. The argument is: they cannot send out an adequate force by sea, and so it is not likely that they will send a force at all. νηίτη agrees with στρατῷ understood, and the dative goes with ἀποστείλαι, 'dispatch in the form of an army on board ship.'

- 86 *'My object is to secure your independence, not to side with either of your parties. Such treachery on our part would be worse than the open violence of Athens, and it would not be to our interest.'*

- 1 ὅρκοις τε . . . καταλαβών: to this participial clause corresponds the final clause καὶ ἅμα οὐχ ἵνα . . . ἔχωμεν.

Λακεδαιμονίων . . . τὰ τέλη: see note on 15. 1.

ἦ μὴν: the regular formula for introducing a statement made on oath.

ἔμμαχῆσοντες: instead of the singular participle agreeing with the subject of παρελήλυθα, the plural is used under the influence of ἔχωμεν.

- 2 οὐτ' αὐτός . . . οὐδέ . . . τε: οὐδέ is Stahl's correction of οὔτε. There are two main members of the sentence, the first negative in form (introduced by οὔτε), the second positive (introduced by τε). οὐδέ

marks a subdivision of the first member, connecting ὑποπτεύεσθαι with νομισθῆναι.

- 3 εἰ . . . ἄρα : see note on 8. 5 ἦν ἄρα.

τις . . . τινὰ . . . τισι : the first pronoun refers to the democratic, the second and third to the oligarchic party.

- 4 οὐδὲ ἂν σαφῇ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν : 'and I do not think that the freedom I offer would be certain.' ἂν σαφῇ is Bauer's correction of ἀσαφῇ (inferior MSS. have ἀσφαλῇ). ἂν is required by the following clause εἰ . . . δουλώσαιοι, and ἀσαφῇ involves a strange ellipsis: 'I do not think that the freedom I offer is uncertain, [as it would be] if . . .'

τὸ πάτριον παρεῖς : 'disregarding your hereditary usage,' i.e. your existing constitution.

τὸ πλεόν . . . τὸ ἔλασσον : the neuters are equivalent to τοὺς πολλοὺς . . . τοὺς ὀλίγους.

- 5 χαλεπωτέρα : agreeing with ἡ τοιαύτη ἐλευθερία understood.

ἀντὶ πόνων . . . ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης : a merely verbal antithesis, for the first ἀντὶ means 'in return for', the second 'in place of'.

αἰτία : 'blame.'

οἷς τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήμασι καταπολεμοῦμεν : instead of ταῦτα τὰ ἐγκλήματα οἷς τοὺς Ἀ. καταπολεμοῦμεν. οἷς means 'on the strength of which'. The charges are those of enslaving Hellas (85. 1 and 86. 1).

ὁ μὴ ὑποδείξας ἀρετὴν : the reference is to the Athenians, who asserted the principle that might is right, e.g. i. 76. 2 αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι. Sparta, on the other hand, had a reputation as the champion of autonomy; cp. i. 69. 1 τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται.

κατακτώμενοι : 'winning for our portion.'

- 6 τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ : 'the latter . . . the former.'

- 87 *'If you refuse my offer, I will resort to force in order to stop you giving financial aid to Athens and hindering the deliverance of other Greeks. It is the general interest of Greece that we are seeking to serve, and you are standing in the way. Be the first to achieve independence and a great name for yourselves.'*

- 1 οὕτω : 'by this attitude,' i.e. by abstaining from attempts at conquest.

πολλήν περιωπὴν . . . ποιούμεθα : 'we show great circumspection.' περιωπὴ in this sense occurs only here; its regular meaning is 'a view-point'.

τῶν ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα διαφόρων : 'of our highest interests,' i.e. the gratitude, honour, and glory mentioned in 86. 5. Cp. iii. 42. 2 ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει, 'he has some personal interest to serve.'

οὐκ ἂν μείζω . . . βεβαίωσιν λάβοιτε ἢ οἷς τὰ ἔργα : 'you could not receive a stronger confirmation than (from men) whose actions . . .'. The antecedent of οἷς is easily understood, παρὰ τούτων.

ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀναθρούμενα : 'when examined in relation to their words.'

ὡς καὶ ξυμφέρι ὁμοίως ὡς εἶπον : 'that their interests do as a matter of fact (καί) correspond with their statements.'

2 ἀδύνατοι : 'unable (to accept my proposals).'

εἶνοι δ' ὄντες ἀξιώσετε μὴ κακούμενοι διωθεῖσθαι : 'and claim, on the ground of your goodwill, to reject them without suffering injury.'

φαίνεσθαι, δίκαιόν τε εἶναι : these infinitives depend on a verb of saying understood from ἀξιώσετε.

οἷς καὶ δυνατὸν . . . , τούτοις καὶ ἐπιφέρειν : for καί in both clauses, see note on 80. 3.

προσαναγκάζειν : dependent on ἀξιώσετε.

μάρτυρας μὲν θεοὺς καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ποιήσομαι : cp. ii. 74. 2, where Archidamus begins his ἐπιμαρτυρία with the words θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε καὶ ἥρωες, ξυνίστορές ἐστε Among the 'heroes' of Acanthus would be the founder of the colony (οἰκιστής).

3 οὐκ . . . ἔτι : 'not then,' i.e. after you have rejected my friendly offers.

προσεῖναι δέ τί μοι καὶ κατὰ δύο ἀνάγκας τὸ εὖλογον : 'but that I have reason to some extent on my side in virtue of two pressing considerations.' τι is adverbial accusative. δύο ἀνάγκας is explained by (1) τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, (2) οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἴνα

τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὖφι : 'your goodwill (as you call it).' Brasidas is referring ironically to the plea of the Acanthians in § 2, εἶνοι δ' ὄντες ἀξιώσετε κτλ. Both this dative and τοῖς . . . χρήμασι are instrumental.

τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναίους : 'by the payment of the money from your treasury to the Athenians.' On this view

the participle is predicative; see note on 26. 4. But it may be attributive: 'by the money which is paid from your treasury to the Athenians'; for the idiomatic order in Thucydides is to place part of the attribute between the article and the noun, and the remainder after the noun; cp. 38. *ἰ τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰππαγρέτου ἐφηρημένου.*

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἵνα: logically *οἱ Ἕ.* follows *ἵνα*, but it is put first for the sake of contrast with *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.*

- 4 οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰκότως γ' ἂν τάδε πράσσοιμεν: 'for, of course, we should not be justified in taking these steps' (on any other ground than that of the liberation of Hellas). *τάδε*, 'what I have just mentioned,' referring to the words *γῆν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν δηῶν πειράσομαι βιάζεσθαι.*

μή . . . αἰτία: the negative is *μή*, because these words are equivalent to a conditional clause *εἰ μή . . . αἰτία ἐστί.*

- 5 παῦσαι: sc. *τῆς ἀρχῆς.*

- 6 ἄρξαι πρῶτοι: a common pleonasm.

τά τε ἴδια: a reference to the grapes still ungathered.

τὸ κάλλιστον ὄνομα περιθεῖναι: if *ὄνομα* means 'fame', these words (referring to the Acanthians only) are a repetition of *αἰδίων δόξαν καταθέσθαι* (referring to the Greeks as a whole). Jowett suggests that *τὸ κάλλιστον ὄνομα* may mean 'liberty'.

- 88 *The Acanthians admit the army of Brasidas. Stageirus also revolts.*

- 1 ἐπ' ἀμφότερα: see note on c. 58.

κρύφα διαψηφισάμενοι: opposed to *ψῆφον φανεράν διενεγκεῖν*, 74. 3.

οἱ πλείους: in apposition with *οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι.*

ὁμόσαντα: agreeing with *τὰ τέλη*; see 86. 1.

οὕτω: summing up the participial clause, 'on these terms.'

- 2 Στάγειρος: about ten miles north-north-west of Acanthus, and famous as the birthplace of Aristotle. The traditional date of the colony is 654 B. C.

- 89-90 *The plan of attack on Boeotia miscarries: Demosthenes finds Siphæ and Chaeroneia occupied by the Boeotians. Hippocrates marches to Delium and fortifies it. His army then retires, the hoplites halting about a mile away.*

- 89 1 ἐνεδίδοτο: for the force of the imperfect, cp. 76. 3 *ἐνεδίδοσαν.*

διαμαρτίας τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς ἃς ἔδει ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύειν: 'a mistake

about the days on which they were to march.' The singular, *τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς ἣν*, ought to have been used, for the two generals were to act on the same day (*ἡμέρα ῥητῇ*, 76, 4); the plural arises from a confusion with the days on which they actually marched. *ἐς* denotes the time looked forward to.

πρότερον: before Hippocrates marched to Delium.

ἐκ Φανοτέως: the town in Phocis nearest to Chaeroneia; see 76. 3.

2 οὐ γάρ πω . . . ἐν τῇ γῇ ὧν: this parenthesis explains why *all* the Boeotians were available at the other two points.

παρελύπει: the compound marks the intended combination with the attack of Demosthenes.

προκαταλαμβάνονται: i. e. before the arrival of Demosthenes at Siphæe.

οἱ πράσσοντες: i. e. the Boeotian partisans of Athens.

90 I ἀναστήσας: cp. 77. 2.

πανδημεί: all Athenian citizens of the first three Solonian classes were liable to military service as hoplites from eighteen to sixty year of age, but as a rule only those between twenty and fifty were required to serve abroad. When all the latter were called out, the levy was said to be made *πανδημεί* or *πανστρατιᾷ*; when a smaller force was sufficient, it was said to be taken *ἐκ καταλόγου*, 'from the muster-roll.'

αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ ξένων ὅσοι παρήσαν: *μέτοικοι* were aliens who had definitely settled in Athens; they were liable to service as hoplites or in the fleet, according to their wealth. *ξένοι*, aliens temporarily resident in Athens, formed the majority of the crews in the fleet; but this is the only occasion on which they appear in the army during this period.

ὕστερος: adjective instead of adverb.

[τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος]: these words are probably a gloss; their position is strange, and Delium has been already described thus in 76. 4.

2 τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεών: the *ἱερὸν* includes the precinct (*τέμενος*) as well as the temple (*νεώς*).

σταυροὺς παρακαταπηγνύντες: 'fixing stakes in the ground on both sides' of the earthen mound, so as to prevent the soil from slipping down. Cp. ii. 75. 1 and 2 (at the siege of Plataea) *χῶμα ἔχουν*

πρὸς τὴν πόλιν . . . ξύλα μὲν οὖν . . . παρὰ κοδόμουν ἐκατέρωθεν, φορμη-
δὸν ('cross-wise') ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες, ὅπως μὴ διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ
χῶμα.

ἄμπελον : collective ; similarly πλίνθον in the next line ; cp. 48. 2
τῷ κεράμῳ.

ἑσέβαλλον : this verb has three objects, ἄμπελον, λίθους, πλίνθον.
The first is governed also by κόπτοντες, the second and third by
καθαιρούντες.

οἰκοπέδων : 'ruined houses.' οἰκόπεδον is lit. a 'ground-plan',
which may be either the basis of a new house or (as here) all that
remains of a ruined one.

ἡ καιρὸς ἦν : for καιρός in the local sense, cp. 54. 4 οὗ καιρὸς εἴη.

καὶ . . . ὑπῆρχεν : καί = 'that is', introducing an explanation of ἡ
καιρὸς ἦν.

ἥπερ γὰρ ἦν στοά : 'the colonnade which had formerly existed.'

- 3 ἡμέρα . . . τρίτῃ ὥς οἰκοθεν ὥρμησαν : 'on the third day from the
time that they started from home.' ὥς = ἐξ οὗ ; similar uses of ὅτε
and ἐπειδή occur.

μέχρι ἀρίστον : see note on ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, 30. 2.

- 4 προαπεχώρησεν : the main body started before Hippocrates.

οἶον : like ὥς with numerals, 'about.'

ἐχώρουν : 'continued their march.'

θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα : see note on 44. 1.

ὥς χρῆν ἐπιτελείσαι : with καθίστατο, lit. 'he was settling matters
connected with the outworks, how he ought to complete them';
i. e. he was arranging for the completion of the outworks.

- 91 *The Boeotians muster at Tanagra. The other commanders are
reluctant to fight, but Pagondas urges battle.*

Τάναγραν : about six miles west-south-west of Delium.

τῶν ἄλλων βοιωταρχῶν, οἳ εἰσιν ἑνδεκα : it was formerly doubtful
whether this meant (1) that the total number of Boeotarchs was
eleven, or (2) that the total apart from Pagondas was eleven, or (3)
that the total apart from Pagondas and his Theban colleague was
eleven. But it is now established, on the authority of the historian
(? Theopompus) of whose work a fragment has been found at
Oxyrhynchus (*Oxyr. Papyri*, v. p. 224), that the first explanation is
the correct one ; that four were appointed for Thebes and Plataea,

two for Orchomenus, two for Thespieae, one for Tanagra, one for Haliartus, Lebadeia, and Coroneia in combination, and one for Acraephium, Copae, and Chaeroneia in combination. They not only held the supreme military command, but were also the most important members of the executive ; cp. the ten generals at Athens.

εἰσί: the present tense of *oratio recta* is retained in virtual *oratio obliqua* after *ξυνεπαυνοῦντων*, which implies a verb of saying.

μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ὀρωπίας: 'at the frontier of the territory of Oropus, or thereabouts.' *μάλιστα* indicates that the expression is approximate ; cp. its use with numerals. The fertile district at the mouth of the Asopus, at one time subject to Eretria, had been annexed by Boeotia, but passed into the hands of Athens about 500 B. C. It remained subject to Athens till 412 B. C.

βοιωταρχῶν: participle.

ἡγεμονίας οὔσης αὐτοῦ: this probably means that each of the Theban Boeotarchs acted in turn as commander-in-chief.

τὴν μάχην ποιῆσαι: 'to bring on the battle'; contrast the middle voice in line 30, τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖσθαι, 'to fight.'

τὰ ὅπλα: either (1) 'their stations', or (2) 'their arms', it being customary for troops to lay down their arms while listening to a speech.

ἔπειθε: 'he urged'; the effect of the speech is given by the aorist ἔπεισεν (93, 1), 'he persuaded.'

92 *Speech of Pagondas.* 'The fact that the Athenians are now on their own side of the border is not a sufficient reason for refraining from battle; they are enemies wherever we find them. Prudence may be carried too far by an invaded people. When the invaders are neighbours, resistance is all the more necessary. A bold resistance makes invaders more cautious: remember the result of the battle of Coroneia. Let us emulate the deeds of that day.'

I χρῆν μὲν . . . μηδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιάν τινα ἡμῶν ἐλθεῖν: 'none of us ought even to have entertained the notion.' ἐς ἐπίνοιαν ἐλθεῖν = ἐπινοῆσαι.

ἦν ἄρα: see note on 8. 5.

διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν = μαχέσασθαι, hence the dative Ἀθηναίους.

δήπου: 'of course,' used when the speaker makes a statement with which he thinks his hearers must agree. Classen points out that Thucydides uses this particle only in three other places.

ὅθεν ἐπελθόντες πολέμια ἔδρασαν: the indicative is used in this clause because the antecedent of the relative is definite, viz. 'in Athenian territory'.

- 2 ἔδοξεν: sc. μὴ διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν Ἀθηναίους.

οὐ γὰρ τὸ προμηθές, οἷς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπὶ . . . καὶ ὅστις . . . ἐπέρχεται: 'forethought does not admit of consideration in the case of an invaded people whose country is at stake, as it does (ὁμοίως καί) in the case of [an invader].' It appears paradoxical to say that 'forethought does not admit of consideration', but in the special circumstances immediate action (without careful weighing of probabilities) would be the truest prudence. For the thought that it is the would-be aggressor, not the aggrieved, who ought to take time to reflect before proceeding to action, cp. i. 86. 4 καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλευέσθαι ἀδικουμένους μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλευέσθαι.

τὸ προμηθές = προμηθία.

οἷς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπὶ: τούτοις is to be supplied as antecedent; similarly τούτῳ before ὅστις.

περὶ τῆς σφετέρας: sc. γῆς, lit. 'when their country is at stake'.

τοῦ πλέονος δὲ ὀρεγόμενος: the same expression was used of the Athenians in 21. 2.

- 3 τῶν πέλας: see note on 78. 2; and contrast τοὺς ἐγγύς, § 4.

δεῖ: sc. ἀμύνεσθαι.

- 4 πᾶσι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καθίσταται: 'freedom always depends on the power to resist,' lit. 'for all men antagonism constitutes freedom'. καὶ ἐλεύθερον is predicate, καθίσταται being almost equivalent to ἐστί.

καὶ . . . γε δῆ: cp. 78. 2.

οἱ καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄπωθεν πειρῶνται δουλοῦσθαι: μὴ may be explained as short for μὴ ὅτι, 'not to speak of near neighbours'; or for μὴ μόνον, 'not only,' in which case μὴ would be due to the generic character of the relative, 'men who.'

πῶς οὐ χρεῖ: see note on 62. 2.

τὸ ἔσχατον ἀγῶνος: Thucydides frequently has a partitive genitive in dependence on a neuter adjective, e. g. i. 49. 7 ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης.

τοὺς τε ἀντιπέρας Εὐβοίας: in 445 B.C. Euboea revolted and was reduced by Pericles, who expelled the people of Hestiaea and established a cleruchy there (i. 114. 3).

ὥς αὐτοῖς διάκειται: *διάκειται* may be taken as impersonal, lit. 'how matters stand with them', i.e. 'in what condition they are'. Or *διάκειται* may have for its subject τὸ πολὺ, αὐτοῖς then referring to the Athenians; 'how it is disposed towards them,' or 'how it has been treated by them.' In any case the clause is added after the proleptic accusatives τοὺς . . . Εὐβοέας and τὸ πολὺ, like ὡς χρῆν ἐπιτέλεσαι, 90. 4.

ἐς πᾶσαν: sc. τὴν γῆν, to be joined with εἰς ὄρος, 'one boundary line including our whole country,' a line definite and unalterable, not fluctuating according to the fortune of border warfare.

5 ἐτέρων: brachylogy instead of τῆς παροικήσεως ἐτέρων.

παροίκησιν: Ἀττικὸς πάροιχος was proverbial for a restless neighbour (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 21).

πολέμου ἄρχοντα: see note on 85. 1. πόλεμος here means the actual fighting, in which the invaded assume the offensive.

κατέχειν: 'to oppress.'

6 αὐτοῦ: 'of this,' i.e. of the salutary effect of resistance to an invasion.

ἐς τοῦσδε: 'in our relations to the Athenians.'

ἐν Κορωνείᾳ: the defeat of the Athenians at Coroneia (in the west of Boeotia) in 447 B. C. was followed by the restoration of Boeotian independence (i. 113. 2). The Athenian supremacy over Boeotia dated from the battle of Oenophyta, 456 B. C. (i. 108. 3).

7 τοὺς τε πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πρὶν ἔργοις: 'the older men should emulate their former achievements,' lit. 'resemble their former deeds' by a natural confusion instead of 'resemble themselves as they were in their younger days'.

τὰς προσηκούσας ἀρετάς: 'the virtues which you have inherited,' lit. 'which belong to you (by birth)'.

πιστεύσαντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔσεσθαι: the infinitive is epexegetic; we should say, 'trusting that the god will be on our side.' For πρὸς ἡμῶν cp. 10. 2.

ἀνόμως: this point is elaborated in 97. 2-4.

καλά: 'auspicious,' of the omens given by victims; a common use in Xenophon.

δείξαι ὅτι . . . κτάσθων: 'to show that they must win.' The imperative in a subordinate clause is rare; most examples are of the type οἶσθ' ὡς ποιήσον; (Soph. *O. T.* 543), 'do you know how you must

act?' Similarly the optative of wish may stand in a relative clause; e.g. ὁρῶ σε διώκοντα ὧν μὴ τύχοις, 'I see thee pursuing things which mayest thou never get.'

οἷς δὲ γενναῖον : sc. ἐστί, 'whose traditional attitude is . . . ' γενναῖον is thus explained by the Scholiast, πατριον καὶ ἀπὸ γένους; in this sense the word occurs in Homer, *Il.* v. 253 οὐ γάρ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι. The antecedent of οἷς is αὐτῶν two lines below.

93-94 *The Boeotians advance towards Delium, and halt with a ridge between them and the Athenians. Hippocrates, leaving 300 cavalry to garrison Delium, joins his army. The Boeotians advance to the top of the ridge. Disposition and numbers of the two armies.*

93 I ἀναστήσας : 'having put his forces in motion' from Tanagra.

ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν : this parenthesis goes closely with κατὰ τάχος : his haste was due to the lateness of the hour, combined with the other reason suggested by καί, viz. his sense of the urgent necessity for action.

καθίσας : probably transitive, τὸν στρατόν being carried on as object from the beginning of the sentence (cp. καθίσας τὸν στρατόν, 90. 1), as with ἔτασσε, and possibly also with παρεσκευάζετο.

λόφου ὄντος μεταξύ : the territories of Tanagra and Oropus were separated by a ridge running parallel with the coast.

ἐθεώρουν : a rare use of the word in the sense of καθεώρων.

2 τῷ δὲ Ἴπποκράτει ὄντι περὶ τὸ Δῆλιον ὥς αὐτῷ ἡγγέλθη . . . πέμπει : the dative at the beginning is left without any construction owing to the unnecessary αὐτῷ. Hippocrates was still at Delium, and his army a mile distant (90. 4).

ἐπιγείνοιντο : of a sudden onset; cp. 25. 11.

3 τοὺς ἀμυνομένους : the MSS. have τοὺς ἀμυνομένους, but the future participle is required to give the notion of purpose; cp. 78. 5 τὸ κωλύσον.

ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα : see note on 44. 1.

τεταγμένοι ὥσπερ ἔμελλον : sc. τάσσεσθαι, 'marshalled in the order in which they were intended to be marshalled (during the battle).'

πελτασταί : see note on 28. 4.

4 δεξιὸν . . . κέρας : for the absence of the article, cp. μέσον, 31. 2.

οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς: 'their dependants,' i.e. the inhabitants of smaller towns subordinate to Thebes, as Chaeroneia was subordinate to Orchomenus (76. 3).

τὴν λίμνην: sc. τὴν Κωπαῖδα. Haliartus and Coroneia were near the south side of the lake, Copae on its northern shore.

τὸ δὲ εὐνύμμον εἶχον . . . Ὀρχομένιοι: Thebes, as the leading member of the League, had the post of greatest honour, on the right wing; Orchomenus, in virtue of its ancient importance (see note on 76. 3), had the post which was considered second in importance.

ἐπ' ἀσπίδας δὲ πέντε μὲν καὶ εἴκοσι: 'twenty-five deep.' In this sense ἐπί is generally used with the genitive, e.g. vii. 79. 1 οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων ἀσπίδων. The object of this formation was to bear down the enemy by the sheer weight of a compact mass of men; only the first four ranks would be able to make any use of their spears. At Leuctra (371 B.C.) the depth of the Thebans was fifty; but in the Peloponnesian war the Athenian formation was usually eight deep (iv. 94. 1, and vi. 67. 1), and the average depth of the Lacedaemonians at Mantinea was the same (v. 68. 3).

ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον: sc. ταξάμενοι; cp. 25. 2. With the absence of uniformity in the disposition of the Boeotian contingents Grote compares the similar state of things in the Lacedaemonian army at Mantinea (v. 68. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο μὲν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὥς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ πᾶν δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ).

4 I οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται . . . ἱππῆς δέ: in partitive apposition with Ἀθηναῖοι. πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον is in apposition with οἱ ὀπλῖται, meaning 'their whole force', not only part of it (as in the case of the Boeotians).

ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐκ παρασκευῆς μὲν ὀπλισμένοι: 'light-armed troops regularly equipped.' ἐκ παρασκευῆς, 'of set purpose,' 'on a definite basis.' Athens at this time had no *organised* force of light troops. She had 1,600 archers at the beginning of the war (ii. 13. 8), but these are not reckoned as ψιλοί.

ὄντες πολλαπλάσιοι τῶν ἐναντίων: as the Boeotians had over 10,000 light-armed, the Athenian ψιλοί can hardly have been fewer than 25,000 (Grote).

ἄοπλοι: see note on 9. 2.

πανστρατίās: the word occurs elsewhere only in the dative (as adverb); see note on 90. 1, πανδημεί.

ἀστών: this corresponds to αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους in 90. 1. ἀστοί are all the free residents in Athens, a wider term than πολῖται. The word is often opposed to ξένος; but sometimes to μέτοικος, as in Plato, *Rep.* 563 A ἀστὸν μετοίκῳ ἐξισοῦσθαι.

ῥωμησαν ἐπ' οἴκου: see 90. 4 οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ οἱ πλείστοι εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν. ὅτι μή: see note on 26. 2.

- 2 παρεκελεύετό τε καὶ ἔλεγε: the imperfect is used because Hippocrates, like Pagondas (c. 91), delivered a series of addresses.

95 *Speech of Hippocrates.* 'A brief reminder is all that time permits. Though we are fighting in Boeotia, we are fighting for our own country; our victory will free Attica from Peloponnesian invasion and secure Boeotia to us. Be worthy of Athens and of your fathers who conquered at Oenophyta.'

- 1 δι' ὀλίγου μὲν ἢ παραίνεσις γίγνεται: 'there is but little time for exhortation,' lit. 'my exhortation takes place in a brief (space of time)'. For δι' ὀλίγου cp. ii. 85. 2 τῆς σφετέρας δι' ὀλίγου μελέτης.

τὸ ἴσον . . . δύναται: 'is as effective (as a long speech).' Cp. iii. 46. 2 εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ ταχὺ ξυμβῆναι.

ἔχει: 'involves,' 'requires.'

- 2 παραστῇ δὲ μηδενί: cp. 61. 2.

ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ: this expression, and also ἐν τῇ τοιούτων and τήνδε προσκτᾶσθε below, show that the Athenian army was now on the Boeotian side of the border. Accordingly it must have moved back a short distance from the point where it halted μάλιστα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ὠρωπίας.

οὐ προσῆκον: accusative absolute.

τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἀναρριπτοῦμεν: see note on 85. 4.

οὐ μή ποτε . . . ἐσβάλωσιν: οὐ μή with the aorist subjunctive expresses a strong denial. The construction occurs in only one other place in Thucydides.

ἀνευ τῆς τῶνδε ἵππου: ἡ ἵππος collective = οἱ ἵπποις. The Boeotians and the Thessalians were the only Greek peoples who were strong in cavalry. The Peloponnesians were dependent on Boeotia, Phocis, and Locris for this arm (ii. 9. 3).

προσκτᾶσθε . . . ἐλευθεροῦτε: the present is used by anticipation for the future, to mark the certainty of the occurrence. ἐλευθεροῦτε refers to the freedom of Attica from invasion.

- 3 *χωρήσατε . . . ἐς αὐτούς* : 'advance against them' (= ἐπὶ αὐτούς).
For the usual meaning of ἐς with plural see 70. 1, 77. 1.

ἔχων . . . ἀγάλλεται : 'is proud to have.' The participle is used
as with *αἰσχύνομαι, ἥδομαι, &c.*

κρατοῦντες : see note on 36. 3.

ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις : see note on 92. 6.

ἔσχον : 'gained possession of.'

96. *Both armies advance to the attack. The forces on the extreme wings do not come into action. The Boeotian left and centre are driven back, but their right is victorious. The Athenian right wing is taken in the rear by Boeotian cavalry, and the rout of the whole army follows. An Athenian garrison still holds Delium.*

- 1 *τὸ δὲ πλεόν οὐκέτι φθάσαντος* : lit. 'but having no longer fore-stalled (the Boeotian attack) in respect of the greater part (of his army)'. *οὐκέτι*, because *up to this time* he had been speaking before the Boeotians advanced.

ὥς διὰ ταχέων : 'as far as (was possible) in the hurry'; cp.

8. 4.

καὶ ἐνταῦθα : i. e. on the *λόφος*, as well as at Tanagra.

παιανίσαντες : see note on 43. 3.

- 2 *τὸ δὲ ἄλλο* : 'the rest (of the forces on each side).'

ὠθισμῷ ἀσπίδων : the hoplites of the front rank on each side pressed their shields against those of their opponents, endeavouring to bear them down ; cp. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 42 *corporibus et umbonibus niti*.

- 3 *τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον . . . καὶ μέχρι μέσου* : the force of the article extends to *μέχρι μέσου*.

ἐπίεσαν : sc. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*.

αὐτοῖς : dative of disadvantage with *ὑποχωρησάντων*.

τῶν παρατεταγμένων : the men of Tanagra and Orchomenus.

κυκλωθέντων : sc. *τῶν Θεσπιῶν*.

ἐν χερσίν : 'in a hand-to-hand encounter.'

- 4 *τὸ μαχόμενον* : i. e. the right wing.

ὥσάμενοι : cp. II. 3, 35. 3.

κατὰ βραχὺ τὸ πρῶτον : 'little by little at first.'

- 5 τέλη: 'divisions.' In i. 48. 3 the word is used of the divisions of a fleet.
ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς: cp. 36. 2.

ὑπερφανέντων: sc. τῶν ἱππέων.

ἐς φόβον καταστήναι: 'was seized with panic.'

- 6 ἀμφοτέρωθεν: (1) 'on both wings', or (2) 'for both reasons', explained by the following clause.

τοῦ τοιούτου: 'the movement that has just been mentioned,' i.e. the movement of the Boeotian cavalry.

ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφεπομένων καὶ παραρρηγνύντων: 'in consequence of the fact that the Thebans were pressing the pursuit and breaking the Athenian formation'; see note on 26. 4.

φυγὴ καθειστήκει: 'the rout was complete'; contrast the aorist καταστήναι, § 5.

- 7 Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος: Mt. Parnes was in the north of Attica, and the road from Oropos to Athens ran over its shoulder.

- 8 οἱ Λοκροί: the eastern (Opuntian) Locrians are meant; for the western (Ozolian) Locrians were on the side of Athens.

νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ ἔργον: cp. 27. 1 μὴ σφῶν χειμῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιλάβοι.

- 9 ἐγκαταλιπόντες: sc. at Delium.
ὅμως: in spite of their defeat.

97-99 *The Boeotians retire to Tanagra. An Athenian herald coming to claim the dead for burial is met by a Boeotian herald, and returns with him to Athens. The Boeotian herald protests against the action of the Athenians in turning the temple of Apollo to profane uses, and calls upon them to evacuate it and take their dead with them. The Athenians send a herald to the Boeotians and seek to justify their occupation of the temple; they retort the charge of impiety upon the Boeotians who offer to barter sacred property for dead bodies; they claim that Delium is Athenian territory by right of conquest, and that the dead should be given up unconditionally. The Boeotians reply, 'If you are in Athenian territory, you need not consult us'; knowing that the dead could not be removed from the battlefield without their permission.*

- 97 ¹ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες: to prevent the Athenians removing their dead.

- 2 ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς: 'to recover the dead.'

αὐτὸν ἀποστρέψας καὶ εἰπὼν: 'having made him turn back by saying'; see note on c. 51.

οὐδὲν πράξει: 'he would effect nothing'; cp. the adj. ἄπρακτος.

αὐτός: the Boeotian herald.

καταστάς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: cp. 84. 2.

τὰ νόμιμα: observances sanctioned by custom; unwritten laws.

- 3 καθεστηκός: 'the established usage.'

ἐν βεβήλῳ: 'on profane ground.' βέβηλος, of that which may be trodden by any one, opposed to ἄβατος.

ὁ ἦν ἀψαυστον σφίσι: the imperfect is retained from the *oratio recta*, σφίσι referring to the Boeotians, whose words the herald is reporting.

χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι: epexegetic infinitive with πρὸς τὰ ἱερά. Worshippers washed their hands in lustral water before beginning a sacrifice.

- 4 ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῶν: for the position of τε see note on 8. 8.

δωμάτας: lit. 'dwelling together', i.e. worshipped in the same temple. According to Suidas the word is Boeotian.

αὐτοὺς: 'themselves'; emphatic with ἀπίνοντας, and contrasted with τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, 'their belongings' (including of course the dead).

- 98 I τοῦ μὲν ἱεροῦ: partitive genitive depending on οὐδέν.

τοῦ λοιποῦ: 'in the future.'

οὐδὲ . . . τὴν ἀρχήν: lit. 'not even at the outset', i.e. not at all.

ἐπὶ τούτῳ: sc. τῷ βλάπτειν.

τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μᾶλλον σφᾶς: 'men who were the aggressors rather than the aggrieved.' The reference is to the yearly invasions of Attica in which the Boeotians had taken part.

- 2 ἦν τε . . . ἦν τε: *sive* . . . *sive*.

τρόποις θεραπενόμενα οἷς ἂν πρὸς τοῖς εἰωθόσι καὶ δύνωνται: 'if they are honoured with whatever observances they (the conquerors) can discharge in addition to the customary observances.' The conquerors are to keep up the old observances, and add fresh ones according to their ability. Stahl reads *πρὸ τοῦ* instead of *πρὸς τοῖς*, 'with whatever observances, formerly customary, they can discharge.' With *δύνωνται* the active infinitive *θεραπεύειν* is understood.

- 3 καὶ γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἄλλων : according to Thuc i. 12. 3 the Boeotians were driven southwards by the Thessalians into Boeotia (formerly known as the Cadmean land) sixty years after the capture of Troy ; but it is doubtful whether there was any connexion between the Thessalian and Boeotian migrations ; both peoples came originally from Epirus. The Boeotian conquerors seem to have been comparatively few in number, and did not dispossess many of the earlier inhabitants ; but some of the latter certainly took part in the colonization of Ionia, probably in consequence of the pressure of invasion. τῶν ἄλλων, e. g. the Dorians in Peloponnesus.

ἐξαναστήσαντές τινα : the singular *τις* is often used of a number of people.

οἰκεῖα : predicative, 'as their own.'

- 4 αὐτοί : the Athenians.

εἰ . . . δυνηθῆναι . . . , τοῦτ' ἂν ἔχειν : the indirect form of εἰ ἐδυνήθημεν, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴχομεν. The indicative in the protasis would regularly be retained in *oratio obliqua*, but sometimes the infinitive is used, especially in relative and temporal clauses ; Thucydides has it after ἐπειδή, ὅτε, and relative pronouns. Apart from this passage, εἰ with the infinitive seems to be found only in Herodotus.

νῦν δέ : see note on 73. 3.

ἐκόντες εἶναι : 'if they could help it,' lit. 'so far as being willing went'. This idiom occurs almost always in negative sentences. For the 'absolute' use of εἶναι cp. 28. 1 τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι.

ὥς ἐκ σφετέρου : = ἐκ τοῦτου ὥς σφετέρου (ὄντος), 'regarding it as their own.'

- 5 κινῆσαι : of meddling with sacred things ; cp. i. 143. 1 κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων ; Hdt. vi. 134 (of Miltiades at Paros) κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων.

ἦν . . . προσθέσθαι : see note on § 4 εἰ . . . δυνηθῆναι. Here the infinitive is easily accounted for, as ἦν = καὶ ταύτην.

ὑβρεῖ : 'wantonly.'

ἐκείνους προτέρους . . . ἐλθόντας : see note on § 1 τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μᾶλλον σφᾶς.

βιάζεσθαι : passive.

χρήσθαι : sc. τῷ ὕδατι.

- 6 πᾶν δ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸ πολέμῳ καὶ δεινῷ τινὶ κατειργόμενον ξύγγνωμόν

τι γίγνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ : ‘and it was natural that *any* action necessitated by war or peril of any kind should be to some extent (τι) pardonable even in the eyes of the god.’ This gives a satisfactory sense, but it is doubtful whether *κατειργόμενον* can mean ‘necessitated’; Thucydides does not use *κατείργω* elsewhere with the acc. of a thing, and by all analogy it ought to mean ‘checked’ or ‘hindered’. With Reiske’s reading *τῷ* (which all MSS. have, τό being due to the second hand in F) . . . *κατειργόμενον*, ‘in the case of a man who is constrained,’ this difficulty disappears. *πᾶν* means ‘anything and everything’; cp. *πᾶν ποιεῖν*, of an unscrupulous person (*πανούργος*). [Classen, who adopts Reiske’s reading, takes *πᾶν* adverbially with *εἰκός*, ‘perfectly natural,’ and *τι* as subject of *γίγνεσθαι*.]

παρανομίαν τε . . . ὀνομασθῆναι : ‘and the term “transgression” had been applied in the case of men who were wrongdoers not under compulsion.’

ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμφορῶν : ‘in consequence of their misfortunes.’

7 *τοὺς τε νεκρούς* : object of *ἀποδιδόναι*, but put first for emphasis.

πολὺ μειζόνως : with *ἀσεβεῖν*.

ἱεροῖς : instrumental dative, as a variation of *ἀντὶ ἱερῶν*.

τὰ πρόποντα : ‘what it was seemly (to recover),’ viz. the corpses. The reading of the scholiast, *τὰ μὴ πρόποντα*, would mean, ‘what it was not seemly (to recover in exchange for things sacred).’

8 *σαφῶς* : with *εἰπεῖν*, ‘to tell them plainly.’

μή : the negative belongs to the whole expression *ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς Β. γῆς*, which is contrasted by *ἀλλὰ* with the words *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια σπένδουσιν*.

δορὶ ἐκτίσαντο : cp. i. 128. 7 *δορὶ ἐλών*.

σπένδουσιν : not a mere equivalent for *σπενδομένοις*. The active means ‘to pour a libation’, the middle ‘to pour a libation reciprocally with another person’ as the sign of a truce between the parties. The middle thus contains an implication of the action of the other party, which the active does not. The latter is appropriate here, because the question is only of what *the Athenians* are to do.

99 *εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ εἰσὶν* : the subject is ‘the Athenians at Delium’.

ἀποφίρεσθαι : infinitive of dependent command after *ἀπεκρίναντο*, which implies *ἐκέλευσαν*. Similarly *γιγνώσκειν*, ‘decide.’

ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς μάχης γενομένης : see note on 95. 2 ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ. During the battle the Athenians must have been driven back to their own side of the border.

Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ ὑπήκοον εἶναι : lit. 'belonged to the Athenians in virtue of its subjection'. The people of Oropia were subject-allies, not citizens, of Athens. The Boeotians mean that the ground where the dead are lying is Athenian territory, though at the moment the Boeotians are in occupation of it (φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες, 97. 1). Had they said it was Boeotian territory they would thereby have admitted the Athenian claim to Delium.

καί : 'and (yet).'

βία σφῶν : 'against their will.'

αὐτῶν : i. e. τῶν νεκρῶν.

οὐδ' αὖ ἐσπένδοντο δῆθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων : 'nor, again, were they (the Boeotians) inclined to make a truce, they pretended, about Athenian territory.' This statement by the historian is awkwardly inserted in the middle of his report of the views of the Boeotians. αὖ contrasts peaceful recovery of the dead with forcible recovery (βία σφῶν). δῆθεν marks pretence. ἐσπένδοντο is imperfect of intended action; cp. 76. 3 ἐνεδίδσαν.

τὸ δέ : the article belongs to the whole phrase within inverted commas, which forms the object of ἀποκρίνασθαι.

εὐπρεπές : 'plausible.' It sounded well to say 'evacuate *our* territory' (this expression is made emphatic by its separation from the rest of the answer), rather than to say 'evacuate the temple' (as they had done at first, 97. 4); for the Boeotians thus avoided the charge of bartering things sacred for dead bodies. See Introduction, p. xxix.

100-101 *The Boeotians with reinforcements march to Delium, and by means of an ingenious contrivance set fire to the fortifications. Most of the garrison escape by sea. The dead are now given up: numbers of the slain on both sides. Descent of Demosthenes on the territory of Sicyon. Death of King Sitalces.*

100 I ἕκ τε τοῦ Μηλιῶς κόλπου ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας : probably Trachinians and other Malians, who lived to the north and west of the Malian Gulf. Javelin-men were armed with a number of light darts, three to five feet long; slingers generally used a lump

of lead as their missile. *τε* is out of place ; it belongs to *μεταπεμψόμενοι*, and answers to *καὶ βεβοηθηκότων*.

τῶν ἐκ Νισαίας . . . φρουρῶν : cp. 69. 3.

προσῆγαγον : the finite verb is abruptly substituted for the participle *προσαγαγόντες*.

- 2 *δίχα πρίσαντες* : they sawed the beam in two lengthways, and then hollowed out each half. This would be easier than boring a hole through the whole length of the beam.

ἐπ' ἄκραν : sc. *τὴν κεραίαν*, 'at the end of the beam (next to the wall).'

εἰς αὐτὸν νεύον : 'slanting into the cauldron.'

καθεῖτο : pluperfect.

ἔσειδήρωτο ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου : 'a great part of the rest of the wood had also been plated with iron.' *τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου* is contrasted with the extremity of the beam, which was protected by the *ἀκροφύσιον*. For *ἐπὶ μέγα* treated as one word equivalent to a nominative case, cp. *ἐπὶ πολὺ* 3. 2, and *κατὰ μικρόν* 30. 2.

- 3 *ἐκ πολλοῦ* : 'from a distance.'

ἦ μάλιστα τῇ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ τοῖς ξύλοις ᾠκοδόμητο : see 90. 2.

- 4 *τοῦ τείχους* : partitive genitive.

ἀπολιπόντας : agreeing with *πάντας* understood from *μηδένα*.

- 5 *τῶν δὲ ἄλλων* : genitive of definition with *τὸ πλῆθος*, 'the others, who formed the majority.'

101 1 *οὐκέτι ταῦτ' ἀπεκρίναντο* : i. e. they no longer declined to make a truce.

- 2 *ψιλῶν δὲ καὶ σκευοφόρων πολὺς ἀριθμός* : as only a few *ψιλοί* were present at the battle (94. 1), *πολὺς ἀριθμός* refers strictly to *σκευοφόρων* only.

- 3 *τῶν τε Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀγραιῶν* : cp. 77. 2. These genitives depend on *τὸν στρατόν* ; *Ἀθηναίων* goes with *τετρακοσίους ὀπλίτας*. For the number of hoplites on forty ships (76. 1) see note on 9. 2.

- 4 *καταπλεῦσαι* : see note on *κατήνεγκε* 3. 1.

- 5 *Σιτάλκης Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς* : Sitalces was not only king of the Odrysae, a tribe in the interior of Thrace, but lord over the whole country between Abdera and the mouth of the Danube and between Byzantium and the Strymon (ii. 97, where the wealth of the kingdom is mentioned). He became an ally of Athens in 431 (ii. 29. 4), and invaded Macedonia in 429 (ii. 95-101).

Τριβαλλούς: a tribe dwelling between the Danube and the Haemus range.

Σεύθης: he is mentioned in ii. 101. 5 as inducing Sitalces to retire from Macedonia, having been won over by Perdiccas, who promised him his sister in marriage.

ἐβασίλευσεν: ingressive aorist, 'became king.'

102 *Brasidas advances towards Amphipolis. The successive attempts to colonize the site. Explanation of the place-name.*

1 τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυμμάχους: the Chalcidians; cp. 84. 1.

2 Ἀρισταγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος φεύγων βασιλέα Δαρείον: Aristagoras, the successor of Histiaeus as despot of Miletus, instigated the Ionian revolt, 499 B.C. Two years later he fled with his partisans to Thrace, where he took possession of Myrcinus, on the left bank of the Strymon, which Darius had given to Histiaeus. He fell at the siege of a Thracian town, which Herodotus (v. 126) does not name, but which must have been on the site of the future Amphipolis.

Ἡδώνων: this tribe had been driven by the Macedonians from its old home east of the Axios, and now dwelt east of the Strymon.

ἐπεῖτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: this attempt (465 B.C.) is mentioned in i. 100. 3, where the place is alluded to as 'then called Nine Ways, but now Amphipolis'. The Athenians took possession of the town, but were destroyed when they advanced into the interior of the country.

τὸν βουλόμενον: see note on 26. 5.

ἐν Δραβήσκῳ: north-west of Crenides (Philippi).

3 ὅπερ πρότερον Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο: for the agreement of the verb with the predicate noun cp. 26. 5.

ἐκ τῆς Ἡϊόνος: the Athenians under Cimon took Eïon from the Persians 476 B.C. (i. 98. 1).

ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα περιρρέοντος τοῦ Στρυμόνος: the river, in order to pass the hill on which Amphipolis stood, bends south-west and then south-east. It thus skirts the hill on the north, west, and south. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα means 'on the side facing the land and on the side facing the sea'.

[διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν]: 'in order that he might surround it,'

almost certainly a gloss on the following words: for the use of *διά* see note on 40. 2.

τείχει μακρῶ ἀπολαβών: sc. αὐτήν. The wall ran north and south, defending the town on the east.

ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμόν: i.e. from a point in the river's course above the town to a point below the town.

περιφανῇ ἐς θάλασσαν τε καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον: 'conspicuous both towards the sea and towards the land,' i.e. any one looking at Amphipolis saw that it was sharply cut off from its surroundings by the river and the wall.

03-104 *March of Brasidas towards Amphipolis, in which there is a party favourable to him. Revolt of Argilus. Brasidas seizes the bridge over the Strymon, and wastes time in plundering the outskirts. Confusion in Amphipolis: an appeal for aid is sent to Thucydides at Thasos. He immediately starts with seven ships.*

103 I ἐξ Ἀρνῶν: the position of this place is uncertain.

ἐπὶ τὸν Αὐλῶνα καὶ Βορμίσκον: Aulon is perhaps the name of the stream connecting Lake Bolbe (in the north of Chalcidice) with the Strymonic Gulf, and Bormiscus the town at its mouth. The spelling Βορμίσκον is due to Stephen of Byzantium; the MSS. here have Βρομίσκον or Βρωμίσκον.

δειπνοποιησάμενος: δείπνον was the evening meal.

2 χειμῶν: 'stormy weather'; cp. 6. I, and § 5 of this chapter.

ἧ: 'wherefore.'

3 Ἀργιλίων: Argilus was on the coast, about ten miles south-west of Amphipolis.

4 ἐπειδὴ . . . Βρασίδης ἦλθεν: as is shown by the following words ἐκ πλέονος, this refers to Brasidas' arrival in the Thrace-ward region, not to his arrival at Argilus.

ἔπραξαν . . . ὅπως ἐνδοθήσεται: ὅπως and fut. indic. is the regular construction after verbs of effort, e. g. ἐπιμελοῦμαι.

ἐκ πλέονος: cp. 42. 3.

τῇ πόλει: instrumental dative.

ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτί: with ἀποστάντες. The night is that mentioned in § I.

πρὸ ἔω: all MSS. but E have πρόσω, which is pointless.

- 5 ἀπέχει δὲ τὸ πόλισμα πλεον τῆς διαβάσεως: 'the town (of Amphipolis) is a considerable distance from the crossing.'

οὐ καθεῖτο τείχη ὥσπερ νῦν: at the time when Thucydides wrote, the bridge had been included in the line of fortifications; but previously it had been isolated.

τῆς προδοσίας: 'the treachery of which I have spoken.'

ἀπροσδοκῆτοis: the MSS. have ἀπροσδόκητος, but the dative is in accordance with Thucydides' usage, e.g. 72. 2.

οικούντων κατὰ πᾶν τὸ χωρίον: 'as their dwellings were scattered over the whole district.'

εἶχεν: 'was master of'; contrast ἔσχε, 'got possession of.'

- 104 I τῶν ἔξω: either partitive genitive or in apposition with πολλῶν μὲν . . . τῶν δέ.

- 2 λέγεται Βρασίδαν . . . δοκεῖν ἂν ἐλεῖν: 'it is said that the opinion was that Brasidas would have captured it.' δοκεῖν is imperfect infinitive; Thucydides' informant said, Βρασίδαν ἐδόκει ἂν ἐλεῖν (note the personal construction of δοκῶ, which cannot be rendered literally in English when an infinitive with ἂν follows).

- 3 νῦν δέ: cp. 98. 4, and note on 73. 3.

- 4 Εὐκλέους: mentioned only here.

τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης: τῶν is probably masculine, 'the other of the two generals who were commanding in Thrace'; rather than neuter, 'the other general of the Thrace-ward region.' τὸν, which is found in some MSS., would suggest that Thucydides alone (and not Eucles also) was ἐπὶ Θράκης.

ἡμίσεος ἡμέρας μάλιστα πλοῦν: for the neuter ἡμίσεος cp. 83. 6; and for μάλιστα see note on 3. 2. The distance from Thasos to Eion was at least thirty-five miles.

- 5 μάλιστα μὲν οὖν . . . εἰ δὲ μή: see note on 63. 1. οὖν is asseverative, 'certainly.'

προκαταλαβών: with φθάσαι.

- 105-106 *Brasidas, anxious to gain Amphipolis before Thucydides can arrive, offers favourable terms, which the inhabitants accept. Thucydides arrives too late to save Amphipolis, but secures Eion.*

- 105 I κτήσιν τε ἔχειν τῶν χρυσείων μετάλλων ἐργασίας: the mines were the property of the Athenian state, and Thucydides had acquired the right of working them. Both gold and silver abounded in this region,

which had previously been worked by the people of Thasos (i. 100. 2). Later Philip of Macedon drew at least 1,000 talents yearly from this source.

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: 'consequently.'

δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν: 'he ranked in influence among the foremost men of the mainland'; *not* 'he was influential among . . .', which would require παρά.

ἐκ θαλάσσης: i. e. from Thasos and the neighbouring islands.

ξυμμαχικόν: object of ἀγείραντα.

2 ἐποιεῖτο: 'he was ready to make.'

τῆς ἴσης καὶ ὁμοίας μετέχοντα: 'on fair and equal terms.' The two adjectives are regularly 'joined in this formula'; cp. i. 27. 1 ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ; v. 79. 1 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις.

τὸν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλοντα: sc. μένειν.

106 I ἀλλοιότεροι ἐγένοντο τὰς γνώμας: lit. 'became somewhat altered in their views'; hitherto they had opposed the opening of the gates (104. 4). Cp. ii. 59. 1 ἡλλοιώντο τὰς γνώμας.

βραχὺ μὲν . . . , τὸ δὲ πλεόν: in partitive apposition with οἱ πολλοί.

συγχοῖς: so E. The other MSS. have συχροί, which would easily arise from assimilation to the termination of the next word.

πρὸς τὸν φόβον: 'in the light of their alarm.'

ὑπελάμβανον: so G and M: the other MSS. have ἐλάμβανον. Thucydides uses λαμβάνω, 'to regard a thing in a certain light,' with an acc. and an adverb (e. g. 17. 3) and with an acc. noun and adjective; but in no other place does he use it with acc. and infin.

οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ σφίσι τὰ δεινὰ εἶναι: (1) 'that their situation was more dangerous' than that of the other inhabitants, *or* (2) 'would be less dangerous' if they withdrew from the town than it was at present, *or* (3) 'that their situation would be less dangerous' if they withdrew quietly than if they tried to fight Brasidas. The first is the natural explanation.

πόλεώς τε ἐν τῇ ἴσῳ οὐ στερισκόμενοι: οὐ στερισκόμενοι is practically one word, equivalent to μετέχοντες; cp. 64. 5 οὐ στερήσομεν. This suggests that ἐν τῇ ἴσῳ refers to τῆς ἴσης καὶ ὁμοίας in 105. 2, and means 'on equal terms'; other interpretations are (1) 'just as before', (2) 'at the same time', marking the simultaneous occurrence of the events οὐ στερισκόμενοι and ἀφιέμενοι (= ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ *or* ἄμα, but such a use is unparalleled). The present participles denote

actions in progress; 'they were not being deprived' (by the terms of the proclamation).

- 2 ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ: cp. 79. 2.

αὐτά: the terms of the proclamation.

προσεδέξαντο: sc. τὸν Βρασίδαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

- 3 κατέπλεον: graphic imperfect, calling up the action as in progress before the reader's eyes.

- 4 παρὰ νύκτα ἐγένετο λαβεῖν: 'he came within a night of capturing Eïon.' παρὰ with acc. denotes the extent within which the thing came of happening; cp. viii. 76. 4 ἡ παρ' ἐλάχιστον δὴ ἦλθε τὸ 'Αθηναίων κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφελέσθαι, 'which all but took away Athens' mastery of the sea.' Instead of the infinitive a genitive is sometimes found; cp. iii. 49. 4 παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἢ Μυτιλήνῃ ἦλθε κινδύνου.

- 107 *Thucydides repels an attack of Brasidas upon Eïon. Myrcinus, Galepsus, and Oesyne join Brasidas.*

- 1 ὁ μὲν: Thucydides.

καὶ τὸ αὐτίκα . . . καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα: adverbial accusative; cp. 54. 3.

ἕξει: the subject is τὰ ἐν τῇ 'Ηιόνι.

ἀνωθεν: i. e. from Amphipolis, which was up-country.

- 2 κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμόν: not 'down the river', but 'by way of the river', contrasted with κατὰ γῆν.

εἴ πως: see note on II. 3.

τὴν προύχουσαν ἄκραν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους: for the position of part of the attribute after the noun cp. 5. 2.

- 3 Μύρκινος: see note on 102. 2. It lay to the north of Amphipolis.

Πιττακοῦ . . . Γοάξιος . . . Βραυροῦς: these persons are mentioned only here. Γοάξιος is the Ionic form of the genitive; there are two other instances in Thucydides.

Γαληψὸς . . . Οἰσύμη: the MSS. have Γαψηλός, but the true form is got from Stephen of Byzantium. Both these towns were to the east of Amphipolis.

- 108 *Alarm of the Athenians at the loss of Amphipolis. Their allies make overtures to Brasidas. The Athenians strengthen their garrisons in the cities. The request of Brasidas for reinforcements from Sparta is refused.*

This chapter describes the state of feeling at Athens after the

disasters of Delium and Amphipolis, as ch. 55 described the state of feeling at Sparta after the affair at Sphacteria.

I ξύλων τε ναυπηγησίων πομπή καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ: cp. Hdt. v. 23 (of Myrcinus) πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ, ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθορος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπείες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα. πομπή = κομιδῇ, 'supply.'

καὶ ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἦν πάροδος . . . , τῆς δὲ γεφύρας μὴ κρατούντων . . . οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι προελθεῖν: 'and as—though the way was open for the Lacedaemonians as far as the Strymon—still, if they (the Lac.) were not masters of the bridge, they would have been unable to go farther.' The μέν clause is subordinate in thought to the δέ clause. Further, μέν subordinates these two clauses, taken as a whole, to the clause τότε δὲ ῥάδια ἤδη γεγενῆσθαι, which states the second reason for the fear of the Athenians. In translating, this clause may be taken first: 'the Athenians were greatly alarmed . . . because matters had now (they thought) become easy (for the Lacedaemonians), whereas (formerly), though the way was open for the Lac. as far as the Strymon, they would (the Athenians thought) have been unable to go farther.'

Θεσσαλῶν διαγόντων: equivalent to a conditional clause, 'if the Thessalians guided them through their country.'

μὴ κρατούντων: sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

ἄνωθεν μὲν μεγάλης οὔσης ἐπὶ πολὺ λίμνης τοῦ ποταμοῦ: 'the river, above the town, forming a broad lake for a considerable distance.' οὔσης agrees with the predicate instead of with the subject; cp. 102. 3.

Other interpretations are: (1) 'there being a broad lake formed by (lit. belonging to) the river for a considerable distance,' τοῦ ποταμοῦ going with λίμνης; (2) 'there being a broad lake for a considerable stretch of the river,' τοῦ ποταμοῦ depending on ἐπὶ πολὺ. This swampy lake was called Cercinitis.

τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἡίονα τριήρεσι τηρουμένων: sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, 'and the Lac. being watched by triremes in the direction of Eion.' τὰ is acc. of respect; cp. 23. 2 τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος.

οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι: sc. τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. Instead of the indicative οὐκ ἂν ἐδύναντο parallel to ἦν πάροδος, we have the infinitive depending on ἐνόμιζον understood from ἐς μέγα δέος κατέστησαν.

προελθεῖν: the conjecture of Stephanus for προσελθεῖν of the MSS. προ- is needed to bring out the contrast with μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Στρυμόνος.

τότε δὲ ῥάδια ἦδη [ἐνόμιζεν] γεγενῆσθαι: all the MSS. have ῥάδια, and the best MSS. have ἐνόμιζεν, both of which are clearly wrong; later MSS. have ἐνόμιζον. The verb is probably a gloss; it is easily understood, as with δύνασθαι. τότε means 'now that Amphipolis was taken.'

- 2 μέτριον ἑαυτὸν παρείχε: cp. 81. 2.

ὥς ἐλευθερώσων τὴν Ἑλλάδα: as he had said in his speech at Acanthus, 85. 1; 86. 1.

- 3 ἀ παρέχεται: 'the offers that he was making.'

κελεύοντες: agreeing with οἱ πολῖται implied in αἱ πόλεις.

ἐκαστοι: 'the inhabitants of each city.'

- 4 καὶ γὰρ καί: the first καί, 'both,' answers to ἅμα δέ (§ 5); the second emphasizes ἄδεια.

ἐψευσμένοις . . . ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅση ὕστερον διεφάνη: lit. 'being mistaken in their estimate of the power of Athens to the same extent as (that power) was subsequently clearly proved to be great.' Their mistake was as serious as the power of Athens proved to be great.

τὸ δὲ πλεόν βουλήσει κρίνοντες ἀσαφεὶ ἢ προνοίᾳ ἀσφαλεῖ: 'and being guided in their judgement by capricious inclination rather than by well-grounded forethought.' τὸ πλεόν, as often, is equivalent to μᾶλλον. The participle is in the nominative (instead of the dative), as if the sentence had begun with καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄδειαν εἶναι ἐνόμιζον; cp. 52. 3 κρατυνόμενοι. For the play upon words in ἀσαφεῖ . . . ἀσφαλεῖ see note on 29. 2, 74. 4.

εἰωθότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι: the participle agrees with οἱ πολῖται understood (see last note), and οἱ ἄνθρωποι is added in apposition—the whole to the part; 'the citizens being accustomed, (like) mankind in general.' For the converse use, where the part is added in apposition to the whole, see note on 6. 1; 110. 2.

ἐλπίδι ἀπερισκέπτῳ διδόναι: 'to commit to (place in the keeping of) unreflecting hopes'; cp. 10. 1 ἀπερισκέπτως εὐελπίς. διδόναι = ἐπιτρέπειν; cp. ii. 42. 4 ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες.

δὲ μὴ προσίενται: the negative is μή because the antecedent of the relative is indefinite: 'anything that they do not like' (lit. admit to themselves).

λογισμῷ αὐτοκράτορι: 'by arbitrary reasoning.' The adjective

denotes freedom from control; hence it is used of 'independent' peoples (as in 63. 2), of ambassadors who are 'plenipotentiaries', and of 'absolute' rulers; it is here applied figuratively to reasoning which is purely capricious and is not based upon the recognition of facts.

- 5 ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς = ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ.

ἑφολκά: cp. 88. 1 ἐπαγωγά.

αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Νίσαιαν: some participle is wanted to account for ἐπὶ with acc.; Linwood conjectured βοηθήσαντι after στρατιᾷ. Probably the words are part of a gloss based upon 85. 7. For the real facts see note on that passage.

- 6 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον: accusative in apposition with the sentence.

διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα: lit. 'because of the pleasurable nature (of their action) at the moment', i.e. because of the pleasure they felt at the moment (in the prospect of freedom). ἔχον = παρέχον, and the article and participle are equivalent to an abstract noun; cp. 18. 4 τῷ ὀρθομένῳ.

τὸ πρῶτον: 'for the first time.'

ὡν αἰσθανόμενοι: 'when they heard about this'; the genitive as with πυνθάνομαι, 6. 1.

ὥς ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐν χειμῶνι: 'as far as they could at short notice and in winter.'

ἐφιέμενος: (1) 'sending injunctions', strengthening ἐκέλευε, so that the two words mean, 'sent urgent injunctions'; (2) 'eagerly desiring', ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα being taken pregnantly with ἐκέλευε. Thucydides elsewhere always uses ἐφίεσθαι in this sense, and with a genitive; Hude suggests that μειζόνων or some such word has dropped out.

- 7 τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ: 'partly . . . partly.'

φθόνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν: 'from jealousy on the part of the leading men.'

9-112 *The Megarians demolish their Long Walls. Brasidas advances into Acte: names and population of its cities: all join him except two. He then marches to Torone. A small party, admitted by his sympathizers, breaks open the side gate; later, 100 men enter by the main gate and side gate; lastly, Brasidas and the main body enter and occupy the town.*

109 1 ἃ σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον: cp. 69. 4. The possessive genitive fairly often stands in the relative clause, contrary to our idiom.

ἔχων τοὺς ξυμμάχους: cp. 102. 1.

τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην: the eastern peninsula of Chalcidice.

2 τοῦ βασιλείως διορύγματος: βασιλεύς without the article means the king of Persia. Xerxes, fearing that his fleet might be wrecked if it tried to double the promontory, caused a canal to be dug through the isthmus. The canal was wide enough to admit of two triremes being rowed abreast (Hdt. vii. 22-4).

ἔσω προύχουσα: 'jutting out (from the canal) on this side,' lit. 'within (the Greek sphere)'. Cp. i. 16 ἐντὸς Ἑλλήνων ποταμοῦ.

αὐτῆς . . . τελευτᾷ: 'terminates it,' 'forms its termination towards the Aegæan sea'; the genitive as with παύω, ἄρχω. This is the meaning required by the context; not, 'Athos, belonging to it, terminates in the Aegæan sea.'

3 Σάνην . . . παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα: this town was at the end of the canal on the western side of the peninsula. Cp. 10. 5 παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν.

Θυσσὸν . . . καὶ Δίον: Herodotus (vii. 22) gives the same list of towns, with one slight variation, Ἀκρόθρον instead of the plural form.

4 αἱ: the five towns just mentioned, as distinguished from the Andrian colony of Sane, which Herodotus (l. c.) calls πόλις Ἑλλάς.

οἰκοῦνται ξυμμέκτοις ἔθνεσι: the dative of the agent is rarely found with the present tense in prose.

διγλώσσων: i. e. they spoke Greek as well as their native tongue.

ἐνι = ἐνεστι. ἐνί is the preposition with locative suffix (cp. ἀμφί, ἐπί); when it is used for the compound verb the accent is thrown back; cp. πάρα for πάρεστι.

τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν . . . Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων: 'but the largest element is Pelasgian, of the number of the Tyrsenians who once inhabited Lemnos and Athens.' For the position of part of the attribute after the noun cp. 5. 2 τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν. The Pelasgians, according to Thuc. i. 3. 2, were the most widely spread of the tribes which in early days, before the land of Hellas was called by that name, gave their own names to the districts which they inhabited; a relic of their presence at Athens is the Pelasgic or Pelargic Wall on the

Acropolis, and the Pelasgic or Pelargic ground on its north-west slope (ii. 17. 1). For the Pelasgians expelled from Lemnos on its capture by Miltiades, cp. Hdt. vi. 137-40. The *Τυρσηνοί* (Etruscans) of Italy, who according to Herodotus were immigrants from Lydia, and took their name from their leader Tyrrhenus, son of king Atys, were subsequently connected with the *Τυρσηνοί* of the North Aegean, by the hypothesis that Tyrrhenus was accompanied to Italy by Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros.

Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες : Thracian peoples. The Bisaltae, according to Hdt. vii. 115, were near Argilus, with the Crestonians to the north-west. For the Edonians see note on 102. 2.

IO I *Τορώνην* : on the west coast of Sithonia, the central peninsula of Chalcidice.

νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ περὶ ὄρθρον : 'while it was still night, in fact towards daybreak.' *ἔτι* goes closely with *νυκτός* ; see note on 26. 6. *καί* introduces a more exact statement of the time ('about the morning twilight').

τὸ Διοσκόρειον : the temple of Castor and Polydeuces ('sons of Zeus').

2 *τὴν . . . ἄλλην πόλιν τῶν Τορωναίων* = *τοὺς ἄλλους Τορωναίους*.

τινὲς . . . ὀλίγοι : in partial apposition with *οἱ πρῶσσοντες αὐτῷ*.

τὸ πρῶτον ταχθέντων : 'who had been originally told off for this duty.'

Ἰολύνθιος : of Olynthus, an inland city of Chalcidice.

διὰ τοῦ . . . τείχους : 'through a breach in the wall.'

ἀνωτάτω : this is the reading of M alone ; *ἀνώτατα* is found in nearly all other MSS. There is no other instance in Thucydides of the superlative of an adverb of place in -ω ; but he uses both *ἐγγυτάτω* and *ἐγγύτατα*.

οὔσης τῆς πόλεως πρὸς λόφον : explanatory of *ἀνωτάτω* ; 'for the city lay on the slope of a hill.'

κατὰ Καναστραίων : 'opposite Canastraeum,' the cape at the extremity of Pallene, the western peninsula of Chalcidice.

διήρουν : 'began to force.' Contrast *διήρητο*, 111. 2.

II I *ξυνέκειτο* : cp. 23. 1.

2 *χρόνου ἐγγιγνομένου καὶ θαυμάζοντες* : for the combination of a genitive absolute with a participle in another case, cp. 29. 1. *θαυμάζοντες* : they were surprised at the delay.

ἔτυχον . . . προσελθόντες : 'had just approached.'

οἱ δὲ τῶν Τωρωναίων . . . παρασκευάζοντες : an unusual position for a partitive genitive.

αὐτοῖς : dative of the agent.

αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν πύλαι : the principal gate of the town, leading to the market-place ; opposed to the small gate facing the sea.

κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα : with ἐσεκόμισαν.

περιαγαγόντες : they took a few of the peltasts round outside the walls from the principal gate to the small gate.

καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν : 'and (consequently) on both sides.'

τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ πυρός : 'the fire-signal.' πυρσός and φρυκτός denote a fire used for this purpose.

εἶρητο : cp. 77. 1.

112 I τὸ ξύνθημα : 'the signal agreed upon' ; cp. ξυνέκειτο, III. 1.

τὸν στρατὸν ἐμβοήσαντάς τε ἀθρόον : C alone has ἐμβοήσαντας ; the other MSS. have ἐμβοήσαντα. The plural was more likely to be altered to the singular than *vice versa* ; on the other hand, Thucydides nowhere else uses ἀθρόον as an adverb.

2 πρὸς λίθων ἀνολκῆν : the beams had been placed in a slanting position against the wall, in order that stones might be drawn up the slope thus formed.

3 τὸ πλῆθος : 'the main body,' as in 96. 8.

βουλόμενος : see note on ἐπικρατήσαντι, 73. 4.

κατ' ἄκρας : 'completely' ; originally 'from the highest point', hence 'from top to bottom'. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiii. 772 νῦν ὦλετο πᾶσα κατ' ἄκρης | Ἥλιος αἰπεινὴ : xv. 557 κατ' ἄκρης | Ἥλιον αἰπεινὴν ἐλέειν.

ὁμοίως : with κατὰ πάντα.

113-116 *Confusion in Torone. Part of the Athenian garrison escapes to Lecythus, and rejects Brasidas' offer of terms. Brasidas makes a conciliatory speech to the assembly. He attacks Lecythus ; the panic caused by the fall of a tower leads to its capture. Brasidas makes an offering to Athena.*

113 I οἷς ταῦτα ἤρεσκε : i. e. the sympathizers, who had taken no active part in the proceedings hitherto. ταῦτα means 'what was happening' ; Classen's conjecture ταῦτά would express the identity of feeling between the active conspirators and their sympathizers.

- 2 οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγοι . . . αὐτῶν : *τινες ὀλίγοι* is in apposition to οἱ μὲν, and αὐτῶν is partitive genitive.

ἐν χερσίν : cp. 96. 3.

αὐ ἐφρούρουν δύο : with the numeral in the relative clause cp. the similar position of the possessive genitive, 109. 1 ἃ σφῶν . . . εἶχον.

αὐτοί : 'by themselves,' 'alone.'

ἄκρον τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπειλημμένον ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ : 'an extreme corner of the city, (projecting) into the sea, and cut off (by a wall) at a narrow isthmus.'

- 3 σφίσιν : the indirect reflexive is used as though the subject of the principal sentence were still οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. The words κατέφυγον . . . ἐς αὐτοὺς are in thought equivalent to 'and there they were joined by the Toroneans'.

- 4 I τοῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Τωρωναίοις καταπεφευγόσι : 'the Toroneans who had taken refuge (and who were now) with the Athenians.' Cp. 14. 1 ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγνῖαις ; and contrast 114. 4 τοῖς παρ' Ἀθηναίους καταπεφευγόνσιν.

ἐξελθόντα : sc. ἐκ τῆς Ληκύθου.

πολιτεύειν : 'should continue to exercise his rights as a citizen.'

ὥς οὔσης Χαλκιδέων : 'on the ground that it belonged to the Chalcidians.'

- 2 ἡμέραν : accusative of duration of time with σπείσασθαι ; cf. 63. 1 χρόνον ὥς πλεῖστον σπείσάμενοι.

ἀνελεῖσθαι : infinitive of purpose.

- 3 ξύλλογον . . . ποιήσας : the active is used of the person who convenes the assembly ; the middle of those who take part in it.

τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ : sc. λεχθεῖσι ; ch. 85-7.

οὔτε τοὺς πράξαντας . . . ἡγεῖσθαι . . . οὔτε τοὺς μὴ μετασχόντας οἶσθαι : in the first clause the accusative is the object, in the second the subject, of the infinitive. πράξαντας is here used with an accusative of the thing negotiated.

οἶσθαι μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τεύξεσθαι : μὴ is here used with the infinitive after a verb of thinking, because οἶσθαι would itself be negated by μὴ.

- 4 τούτου ἕνεκα : explained by the following clause, ὥς ἡγούμενος . . . φιλίᾳ, rather than referring to the preceding words οὐ διαφθερῶν . . . οὐδένα.

ἐκείνων : the Athenians.

οὐδ' ἂν . . . αὐτοὺς δοκεῖν ἦσσαν . . . εὖνους ἂν σφίσι γενέσθαι : 'and (he said) that he thought that they would not be less well-disposed towards his countrymen.' ἂν in both cases belongs to γενέσθαι ; the particle often stands near the beginning of a long clause, especially with a negative, and is repeated with or near the verb.

[τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων] : probably a gloss upon σφῶν.

δικαιότερα : the comparison is with the Athenians.

πράσσουσιν : SC. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

5 τοὺς τε πάντας : for τε see note on 4. 3.

τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε : 'henceforth.'

αἰτίαν ἔχοντας : 'they would be answerable.' αἰτίαν ἔχειν serves as the passive of αἰτιᾶσθαι.

τὰ πρότερα : 'in the past.'

ἀδικεῖσθαι : imperfect infinitive ; cp. 21. 1, 22. 2.

ἄλλων : the Athenians.

115 I τὰς προσβολάς : 'the assaults' to be expected in the circumstances. φαύλου : 'weak,' as having only wooden bulwarks (§ 2).

2 προσάξεσθαι : fut. middle in passive sense. Thucydides uses also the passive form (87. 3).

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων : see note on 108. 7.

ἐνήσειν διανοοῦντο : for the future infinitive with διανοοῦμαι, as with μέλλω, cp. 121. 1 : it occurs in three other places. But Thucydides normally uses the present (e.g. 48. 2, 72. 1, 125. 2) or the aorist.

ἧ : 'at the point where.' The antecedent, if expressed, would be ταύτη (with πύργον . . . ἀντέστησαν).

ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον : SC. τὸ τεῖχοςμα.

ἀμφορέας . . . καὶ πίθους : both words denote earthenware jars of large capacity ; but while the ἀμφορεύς was tall and slender with a narrow neck, the πίθος was round-bellied and had a wide mouth. The 'tub' of Diogenes was a πίθος.

3 λαβόν : cp. 69. 2 ἐπάλξεις λαμβάνουσαι.

μείζον : 'too great.'

ἐλύπησε . . . ἐφόβησεν : the subject of these verbs is 'the collapse of the building'.

οἱ διὰ πλείστου : 'those who were farthest off' ; cp. διὰ βραχέος, 76. 5.

ταύτῃ : 'at this point.'

τὰς ναῦς : cp. 113. 2.

16 1 ὡς ἤσθετο . . . καὶ . . . ὄρων : variety of construction instead of (ὡς) ἑώρα. Instead of being put with ὡς ἤσθετο, τε is added to the emphatic word ἀπολείποντας.

2 τοῖς τε πλοίοις καὶ ταῖς ναυσί : the former are the merchant-vessels lying in the harbour, the latter are the two war-ships of 113. 2.

Παλλήνην : the western peninsula of Chalcidice.

τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἀργυρίου : about £120, a very large sum, considering that the ordinary pay of a hoplite was a drachma per day. As there were 100 drachmas in a mina, the reward is equivalent to more than eight years' pay. Prof. Mahaffy (*Hermathena*, iii. 458) suggests that τριάκοντα should be τέσσαρας ; the symbols Δ (4) and Λ (30) might easily be confused.

ἀπέδωκεν : see note on 14. 5 ἀπέδωσαν.

ἐς τὸ ἱερόν : 'for the service of the temple.'

ἀνασκευάσας : 'having dismantled.' ἀνασκευάζειν is to pack up baggage or household goods (σκεύη) for removal ; thus the middle voice is used of the Athenians packing up their belongings on the approach of Xerxes (i. 18. 2).

τέμενος ἀνήκεν ἅπαν : the adjective, which logically belongs to τὴν Ἀήκυθον, is made to agree with the predicate. ἀνίημι, 'to let go,' is applied to land left untilled, and to flocks allowed to range at will in their pastures, because dedicated to a god ; hence almost 'to consecrate'. Cf. Hdt. ii. 65 ἀνείται τὰ ἱρὰ θηρία.

3 τῶν χωρίων : the towns in the Thrace-ward region.

117 *Truce for a year between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians.*

The latter thought that this would give them time to stop the progress of Brasidas, and would lead up to a peace. The Lacedaemonians thought that the cessation of war would induce Athens to make peace ; they were especially anxious to recover the prisoners taken at Sphacteria.

1 οὐκ ἂν ἔτι . . . καθ' ἡσυχίαν : i. e. a year's armistice would give the Athenians time to make preparations, and meanwhile the career of Brasidas would be checked. καθ' ἡσυχίαν is contrasted with ὡς ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐν χειμῶνι, 108. 6.

εἰ καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχοι : sc. ξυμβῆναι.

καὶ ξυμβῆναι τὰ πλείω: 'they might even conclude a more general agreement.' ἄν probably belongs to the infinitive here as well as to προσαποστῆσαι (Krüger conjectured *κἄν* for *καί*). Classen takes ξυμβῆναι (without ἄν) with νομίσαντες, 'intending to make an agreement.' For the whole expression cp. 30. 4 ἕως ἄν τι περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ . . . ἡγούμενοι . . . φοβείσθαι: 'the Lacedaemonians, thinking that the Athenians feared just what they dreaded,' i.e. forming a true estimate of the apprehensions of the Athenians. What the Athenians feared was that Brasidas would detach more of their subject-allies (suggested by προσαποστῆσαι above). ἡγούμενοι is merely a resumption of νομίσαντες, which ought (from the position of μέν after Ἀθηναῖοι) to belong to both clauses.

ἐδέιδαν: as in 55. 3. M here has ἐδέδεσαν; the others have ἔδεισαν. The pluperfect is appropriate here as expressing the continuance of the dread.

ἀνοκωχῆς: 'a pause.' Elsewhere in Thucydides the word means 'a truce' (e.g. 38. 1).

πειρασμένους: 'when they had experienced (its advantages).'

τοὺς ἄνδρας: the prisoners taken at Sphacteria.

- 2 τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας . . . κρατήσιν: this section has given rise to much discussion, and its interpretation is by no means certain. The following is suggested as a probable explanation: 'It was to the recovery of the prisoners that they attached greater importance (than to relief from the stress of war; the latter they might still have faced) because Brasidas was still having good fortune; moreover, should he proceed to greater success and establish an equality (between Sparta and Athens), they were likely, although still deprived of the prisoners, to have a chance even of gaining the mastery, for with their other forces they would be fighting on an equality (with the Athenians).'

δὴ emphasizes the point of supreme importance for the Spartans, that which more than anything else made them desire an armistice, as naturally leading to a peace which would have for one of its conditions an exchange of prisoners.

ὥς ἔτι: ὥς is used in the causal sense, and gives the reason why the Spartans were *more* concerned for the recovery of the prisoners than for other beneficial consequences of an armistice. To take

ὥς as 'when', either with κομίσασθαι or with περὶ πλέονος ἐποιοῦντο, does not yield a satisfactory sense.

ἐπὶ μείζον χωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ: cp. i. 118. 2 ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεις.

ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος: at present Sparta and Athens were not on an equality, the successes on the former side at Delium and in Thrace not compensating for the Athenian occupation of Pylos and Cythera.

τῶν μὲν στéρεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ... κρατήσιν: τῶν μὲν means 'the prisoners', τοῖς δὲ, 'the other forces of Sparta'; and the μὲν-clause is subordinate in thought, not being essential to the argument. στéρεσθαι refers to the continued detention of the prisoners at Athens. τοῖς δὲ is instrumental ablative with ἀμυνόμενοι and also with κρατήσιν.

ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνόμενοι: a repetition of the idea already given by ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος.

κινδυνεύσειν καὶ κρατήσιν: some MSS. have κινδυνεύειν, exactly parallel to στéρεσθαι; but μέλλω may of course have either pres. or fut. infin. As to the meaning, it must be admitted that Thucydides nowhere else uses the verb as 'to have a chance', 'to be likely', but always 'to be in danger', 'to run a risk'. The construction with the fut. infin. is also unparalleled, but may be defended by the analogy of verbs of intending.

- 118 (a) *Terms of the truce, submitted by a Peloponnesian embassy to Athens:—Access to the temple of Delphi to be free to all, and offenders against the god to be punished. Both sides to retain the places they at present hold. Facilities to be given for negotiating a peace. Deserters not to be received by either side. Provision for arbitration. (b) A decree of the Athenian Assembly agreeing to these terms; the truce is to begin at once.*

- I §§ 1–10 contain proposals drawn up at Sparta and conveyed to Athens by ambassadors. §§ 1–3 relate to the oracle of Delphi.

δοκεῖ ἡμῖν: ἡμῖν seems naturally to refer to the Peloponnesians; but Steup takes it of the Athenians, holding that §§ 1 and 3 are proposals sent from Athens to Sparta, and that § 2 (which should probably follow § 3) is their ratification at Sparta: he reads ταῦτά for ταῦτα in §§ 2 and 4.

χρησθαι : sc. τῷ ἱερῷ κτλ.

- 2 τοῖς παροῦσιν : those who were present at Sparta when the proposals were drawn up ; there probably had not been time to summon representatives from Boeotia and Phocis.

ἐς δύναμιν : 'to the best of their ability.'

- 3 τῶν χρημάτων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ : the temple-treasure of Delphi.

ἐπιμέλестhai : sc. δοκεῖ ἡμῖν.

τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας : are 'the guilty persons' specific individuals, or is the reference quite general—'people who may at any time be guilty'? The former view is supported by the absence of any similar clause from the Peace of 421 B.C. (v. 18) ; the guilty had been punished in the interval.

καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς : the Athenians and the Peloponnesians (but see note on § 1).

τῶν ἄλλων : neutral states.

τούτων . . . τάδε : 'the above . . . the following.'

- 4 τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις : 'the other members of the alliance.'

κατὰ ταῦτα . . . ξυμμάχοις : these words have been omitted in most MSS. by an obvious slip.

ἐν τῷ Κορυφασίῳ : cp. 3. 2.

ἐντὸς τῆς Βουφράδος καὶ τοῦ Τομέως : doubtless names of points on the coast near Pylos ; they do not occur elsewhere.

τοὺς δὲ ἐν Κυθήροις : cp. 54. 4 τῶν Κυθήρων φυλακὴν ποιησάμενοι.

μὴ ἐπιμισγομένους ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν : 'not having any intercourse with the (Peloponnesian) confederacy.' ξυμμαχία is here concrete, 'the members (or the territory) of the allies' ; similarly in § 5 below. Thucydides uses both the active and the middle of ἐπιμίσγω and of ἐπιμίγνυμι in this sense ; cp. Hom. *Od.* vi. 205 οὐδέ τις ἄμμι (the Phaeacians) βροτῶν ἐπιμίσγεται ἄλλος.

τοὺς δ' ἐν Νισαίᾳ καὶ Μινφᾷ : cp. 69. 4 and note on 67. 1.

ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Νίσου : 'from the gate (as one comes) from (the temple or statue of) Nisus.' Nisus was the legendary king of Megara who had on his head a purple lock of hair, on the preservation of which depended the safety of his kingdom (Ovid, *Met.* viii. 8). For the name of a deity used instead of the name of his temple see note on 67. 2 ἐς τὸ Ἐννάλιον. The reading of two MSS., ἀπὸ τοῦ Νισαίου, is doubtless a gloss. Dobree conjectured παρὰ τὸ Νίσου (sc. ἱερόν), 'beside the temple of Nisus.'

τὸ Ποσειδώνιον : sc. *ἱερόν*.

εὐθύς : in the local sense, 'straight.'

τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐς Μινώαν : see note on 67. 1.

τὴν νῆσον : Minoa.

τὰ ἐν Τροιζήνι : sc. *ἔχοντας*. The peninsula of Methana is meant (45. 2). For ἐν, 'in the neighbourhood of,' cp. 5. 1 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις.

καθ' ἃ ξυνέθεντο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους : Τροιζήνιοι is understood as the subject of *ξυνέθεντο*. There is no other allusion to this agreement. The MSS. reading καὶ οἶα would imply that the Troezenians had made an agreement with the Athenians about some places not occupied by the latter.

5 ὅσα ἄν : sc. *πλέωσι*. For ὅσα cp. 48. 5.

μακρᾷ νηί : see note on 16. 1.

ἄλλῳ δὲ κωπήρει πλοίῳ : sailing vessels are thus excluded. The merchant ship depended almost entirely on its sails, carrying only a few oars for use in emergencies.

ἐς πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἄγοντι μέτρα : 'of not more than 500 talents' burden,' lit. 'carrying measures up to the number of 500 talents'. As the Aeginetan talent weighed about 80 lb. avoirdupois, the limit here is about 18 tons. The talent was the unit regularly employed in stating a ship's carrying capacity : cp. vii. 25. 6 ναὺν μυριοφόρον. For ἄγοντι cp. Hdt. ii. 96 ἔστι δέ σφι (the Egyptians) τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας τάλαντων.

6 δικῶν : 'arbitration' on disputed points ; cp. § 8.

σπονδᾶς : here practically equivalent to *ἄδειαν*, 'safe-conduct.'

7 μήτε ἐλεύθερον μήτε δοῦλον, μήτε ὑμᾶς μήτε ἡμᾶς : the first two accusatives are in apposition with τοὺς αὐτομόλους, the last two are the subject of *δέχεσθαι*.

8 δίκας διδόναι : 'to give satisfaction' ; cp. v. 59. 5 δίκας δοῦναι καὶ δέξασθαι ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας.

10 τέλος ἔχοντες : 'with full powers' to conclude an agreement.

ἥ περ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμᾶς κελεύετε : these words show that overtures had previously been made by Athens to Sparta.

11 Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ . . . Λάχης εἶπε : this is the regular form of preamble in an Athenian *ψήφισμα* of the period. Four proper names are given : (1) the tribe to which belonged the fifty *πρυτάνεις*, who formed the standing committee of the βουλή for one-tenth of the year ; (2) the secretary of the tribe ; (3) the president (*ἐπιστάτης*

τῶν πρυτάνεων), who was chosen by lot, held office for a day and night, and was chairman of the ἐκκλησία; (4) the proposer of the decree. For *Laches* see Introd., p. xxxii. He was one of the Athenian commanders at the battle of Mantinea, where he fell.

τύχη ἀγαθῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων: sc. εἴη, a common formula in decrees, 'I pray that it may be for the best interests of Athens.' Varro (*L. L.* vi. 86) quotes an old form of words: *quod bonum fortunatum felixque salutareque siet populo Romano Quiritium rei que publicae populi Romani Quiritium, &c.*

καὶ ὠμολόγησαν ἐν τῇ δῆμῳ: these words are best taken (with Kirchhoff) as part of the relative clause introduced by καθ' ἃ, 'in accordance with the terms to which the Lacedaemonians and their allies agree and have assented before the Assembly.' If the stop is placed after αὐτῶν instead of after δῆμῳ, a statement by the historian is thrust into the middle of the decree.

- 12 ἄρχειν δὲ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν: 'and that this day begin (the armistice)'; cp. ii. 12. 3 ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει, and v. 19. 1 ἄρχει δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν ἔφορος Πλειστόλας, 'the ephorate of Pleistolas begins the truce.'

τοῦ Ἑλαφβολιῶνος μηνός: this answers to the latter half of March and the first half of April.

- 13 καθ' ὅτι ἔσται . . . πολέμου: an indirect question after ποιείσθαι τοὺς λόγους, 'shall discuss on what terms the war shall be terminated.' τοὺς λόγους, lit. 'the (necessary) proposals'.

- 14 ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις: besides the forty ordinary meetings of the Assembly in the year, extraordinary meetings (ἐκκλησίαι σύγκλητοι) could be summoned in emergencies. In these cases the Generals (or a General) made application to the πρυτάνεις, who thereupon had the meeting called by sound of trumpet.

πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης: the question of the peace was to have precedence of all other business. After these words there is evidently a lacuna, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις having no construction as the text stands.

βουλευέσασθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐσίῃ ἡ πρεσβεία: 'the Athenians shall deliberate, whatever the terms with which the (Peloponnesian) embassy may come before the Assembly.' καθ' ὅτι ἂν, lit. 'in whatever way'. Kirchhoff would read εἰσιν for ἂν ἐσίῃ, 'the

Athenians shall decide on what terms the embassy shall come, &c.'

αὐτίκα μάλα : 'forthwith.'

119 *Ratification of the truce : names of the signatories. Negotiations for a peace.*

- 1 [καὶ ὥμοσαν] : it is intolerably harsh to take the words καὶ ὥμοσαν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι as a parenthesis, and accordingly various alterations have been proposed. Classen places καὶ ὥμοσαν before μηνός : Steup reads ταῦτα ξυνέθεντο καὶ ὥμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι (the last word occurs in some MSS. both before and after ὥμοσαν).

μηνός ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Γεραστίου : the words ἐν Λακεδαίμονι are an attribute of μηνός, 'the Lacedaemonian month Gerastius.' The day here given is the same as the fourteenth of the Attic month Elaphebolion (118. 12).

- 2 ξυνετίθεντο δὲ καὶ ἐσπένδοντο : the imperfect is used of the detailed list of signatories ; contrast the aorists in § 1.

Ταῦρος Ἐχετιμίδα : in official language the article is not used as it is in narrative, e.g. Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος (70. 1). Ἐχετιμίδα is Doric genitive of the first declension.

Ἀθήναιοι Περικλείδα : in v. 44. 3 three Spartan ambassadors are spoken of as δοκοῦντες ἐπιτῆδειοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ; and the name of Pericleidas' son (with changed accent) is an evidence of his friendly feeling. Cp. the name of Cimon's son Λακεδαιμόνιος (i. 45. 2).

- 3 αὕτη : predicative.

τῶν μειζόνων σπονδῶν : 'the truce for a longer period' (fifty years according to the Peace of Nicias, 421 B.C.).

120-121 *Revolt of Scione. Brasidas sails thither, and congratulates the assembly on their courage. Compliments paid to Brasidas. His designs on other towns.*

- 120 1 ἐπῆρχοντο : not from ἐπέρχομαι (the imperfect of which is supplied by ἐπῆα), but from ἐπάρχομαι, 'to begin a religious rite,' 'to perform some preliminary ritual.' The act in this case is the pouring of a few drops of wine into each cup (ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάσσειν, often in Homer) to be poured out as a libation ; hence the verb suggests σπένδω, σπένδομαι. The force of ἐπι- is probably 'in succession', 'one after another'.

Σκιώνη: on the west coast of Pallene.

Πελληνῆς: Pellenians, inhabitants of Pellene in Achaia; in Hom. *Il.* ii. 574 they form part of Agamemnon's contingent.

πλέοντας δ' ἀπὸ Τροίας: towns in all parts of the Hellenic world ascribed their foundation to warriors returning from Troy (see Grote, ch. xv). Thus Thuc. ii. 68. 3, says that Amphilochian Argos was founded by Amphilochus the son of Amphiarus, μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἀργεὶ καταστάσει.

σφῶν τοὺς πρώτους: 'their founders.'

τῷ χειμῶνι δ' ἐχρήσαντο Ἀχαιοί: cp. vi. 2. 3 Φωκέων τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας τότε χειμῶνι ἐς Λιβύην πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατενεχθέντες. The storm was ascribed to the anger of Athena; Hom. *Od.* v. 108 ἀτὰρ ἐν νόστῳ Ἀθηναίην ἀλίτοντο, | ἥ σφιν ἐπῶρσ' ἀνεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ κύματα μακρά. See *Od.* iv. 499 sqq. for the shipwreck of the lesser Ajax; ib. 514 sqq. for the winds which drove Agamemnon out of his course.

2 ἀποστᾶσι δ' αὐτοῖς: dative of advantage; cp. io. 3 ὑποχωρήσασι.

διέπλευσε: he crossed the gulf from Torone and rounded the promontory of Canastraeum.

τριῆρει μὲν φιλία προπλευούσῃ: dative of accompaniment.

πλοῖω: any vessel other than a trireme; see note on 116. 2.

αὐτῷ: i. e. τῷ κέλῃτι.

τὸ ἔλασσον: 'the smaller vessel,' τὸν κέλητα.

νομίζων τρέψεσθαι: the subject of the infinitive, τὴν (ἄλλην) τριήρη, must be supplied from the genitive absolute. A change of construction is introduced by the participle *νομίζων*, instead of a final clause after ὅπως.

τὴν ναῦν: the 'friendly trireme'.

3 ἃ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ καὶ Τορώνῃ: ch. 85-7; 114. §§ 3-5.

οἷτινες: causal; cp. 18. 1.

ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἀπειλημμένης: cp. 113. 2.

Ποτείδαιαν: this town had been occupied by Athenian colonists since its surrender in 430 B. C. (ii. 70); and as it commanded the isthmus, the inhabitants of the peninsula were cut off from all communication by land.

οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ: cp. 14. 3.

τῶν μεγίστων: 'the greatest hardships.'

εἴ τε θήσεται . . . πράγματα: both the sense of the passage and

the form of the conditional sentence suggest that these words should be taken with the following clause *πιστοτάτους . . . τιμήσειν*, rather than with *σημείον . . . ὑπομείναι* (in which case *εἰ τεθήσεται* must be read).

κατὰ νοῦν: 'to his liking.'

τῇ ἀληθείᾳ: with *πιστοτάτους*.

121 1 οἷς . . . μὴ ἤρεσκε: see note on 32. 4.

διενοοῦντο . . . οὔσιν: for the tense of the infinitive see note on 115. 2.

δημοσίᾳ: *publice*, 'in the name of the state and at the public expense.'

ἔταινιουν: lit. 'bound his head with ribbons'. The *ταυρία* was the ribbon by which the victor's wreath was secured; cp. Ar. *Frogs* 393 *νικήσαντα ταινοῦσθαι*: Virg. *Aen.* v. 268 *iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi* | *funiceis ibant evincti tempora taenis* (of the prize-winners in the boat-race).

προσήρχοντο: from *προσάρχομαι* (see note on 120. 1), lit. 'offered first-fruits', i.e. decked him with spring flowers.

ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ: these words belong to both the verbs.

2 διέβη πάλιν: to Torone.

μετ' αὐτῶν: 'with the help of the people of Scione.'

Μένδης: between Scione and Potidaea.

ὥς ἐς νῆσον: 'which they regarded as an island' (cp. 120. 3, 122. 5).

ἐπράσσετο: see note on 68. 4.

122 *Commissioners arrive to notify the truce. The Athenian commissioner refuses to admit Scione to its benefits, and Brasidas protests. The Athenians are eager to attack Scione, and reject the Spartan offer of arbitration; they pass a decree for the destruction of the town.*

1 παρ' αὐτόν: Brasidas was now back at Scione (cp. *ἐπεραίωσε*, 121. 2).

2 ἀνήγγελλον: 'formally announced.' Brasidas had of course been already made aware (informally) of the armistice, and had thereupon sent his troops out of Scione.

3 τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κατήνει: 'approved in the case of the others,' i.e. admitted their claim to the benefits of the armistice.

ὕστερον : after the date mentioned in the armistice.

ὥς πρότερον : SC. ἀφ'εσθήκοιεν.

- 4 περὶ αὐτῶν : 'about the state of matters.'

παραβήσεσθαι . . . τὰς σπονδὰς : because the armistice had provided for arbitration of disputed points (118. 8).

- 5 ὀργὴν ποιούμενοι = ὀργιζόμενοι. For the construction with εἰ see note on 85. 3.

ἤδη : with ἀξιοῦσι.

ἀνωφελεῖ : 'which was useless' on the sea.

- 6 εἶχε : ἔχω is used intransitively with adverbs ; here ταύτῃ is understood as antecedent of ἤ.

ὕστερον : as in § 3.

123 *Revolt of Mende. Brasidas sends the women and children from Scione and Mende to Olynthus, and dispatches troops to both cities.*

- 1 Ἐρετριῶν : the people of Eretria in Euboea.

οὐ νομίζων ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι . . . προσεχώρησαν : the ὅτι clause depends on ἀδικεῖν only ; 'he did not think that he was acting unjustly because they had come over to his side while the armistice was undeniably in force.' The reason why he did not think so is given by the clause introduced by ἔστι γὰρ ἃ.

ἔστι . . . ἃ : 'in some respects,' with παραβαίνειν.

- 2 τεκμαιρόμενοι : this participle is subordinate in thought to ὁρῶντες, which is co-ordinate with the genitives absolute introduced by καὶ ἅμα.

σφίσιν : 'among them.'

ὥς τότε ἐμέλλησαν οὐκέτι ἀνέντων : 'never desisting after they had formed the design at the time already mentioned' (121. 2). The design is that of surrendering the city.

τὸ κατάδηλον : 'detection.'

καὶ καταβιασασμένων : grammatically co-ordinate with φοβουμένων ; but the thought is, 'they had constrained the people *because* they were afraid.' Similarly in what precedes, 'though they were few in number, they had not relaxed their efforts.' See note on ch. 51.

παρὰ γνώμην : 'contrary to their better judgement.'

- 3 εὐθὺς πυθόμενοι : see note on 43. 2.

- 4 ὑπεκκομίζει: 'conveyed away into hiding'; cp. i. 89. 3 διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας.

Ὀλυνθον τὴν Χαλκιδικήν: see note on 110. 2.

παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας: this is the regular formula, without the article.

οἱ μὲν: the men of Scione and of Mende.

- 4-125 *Second campaign of Brasidas and Perdiccas against Arrhabeus: defeat of the Lyncestians. Panic among the Macedonians, who retreat. Brasidas disposes his column to beat off the enemy.*

- 24 1 τὸ δεύτερον: the first expedition is described in ch. 83.

ὧν ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων: i. e. those who were under the immediate rule of Perdiccas, and those non-Hellenic tribes which had kings of their own; see note on 79. 2.

τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων: e. g. in Pydna and Methone, which were colonies from Euboea.

τοῖς αὐτοῦ περιλοίποις: of the total of 1,700 hoplites (78. 1), 500 had been sent to Scione and Mende, leaving at most 1,200 'on the spot' (αὐτοῦ) at Torone.

καὶ Ἀκανθίους καὶ . . . ἐκάστων: in apposition with Χαλκιδέας.

ὀλίγου: sc. δεῖν, 'almost.'

καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς: 'as well as a great multitude of the barbarians,' i. e. of the non-Hellenic tribes. Steup thinks that the Macedonian infantry are meant, pointing out that Thucydides in this section contrasts the Macedonians with οἱ ἐνοικούντες Ἕλληνες: but in 125. 1 the Macedonians are distinguished from τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων (to avoid this difficulty Steup there inserts ἱππῆς after Μακεδόνες).

- 3 τῶν μὲν πεζῶν: the plural shows that the infantry of both armies is meant.

τοῦ μέσου: 'the ground between.'

ἀμφοτέρων: with οἱ ἱππῆς.

- 4 τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς: the Illyrian tribes occupied the country between Macedonia and the Adriatic, and the hill-tribes (including the Lyncestians) subject to the Macedonians of the lowlands were probably of Illyrian stock.

οἱ ἔτυχον . . . μέλλοντες ἥξειν: 'who were to come just then.'

μισθοῦ: genitive of price.

καθήσθαι : 'to sit idle'; as frequently in Demosthenes, e. g. 2. 23 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς καθήμεθ' οὐδέν ποιοῦντες.

τι πάθῃ : cp. 15. 2, 38. 1.

οὐ πρόθυμος ἦν : sc. προΐεναι.

- 125 I μετ' Ἀρραβαίου . . . γεγένηται : 'had joined Arrhabaeus'; cp. 113. I μετὰ τῶν ἐσελθόντων εὐθὺς ἦσαν.

δοκοῦν . . . κυρωθέν : accusative absolute. κυρωθέν is used impersonally like other passive participles, προσταχθέν, δεδογμένον, εἰρημένον : and οὐδέν is adverbial accusative. It is possible to consider κυρωθέν as agreeing with οὐδέν, in which case we have here one of the few instances of an acc. absolute used personally without ὡς or ὥσπερ (Goodwin, *M. T.* 854).

ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς : 'in consequence of their disagreement.'

ὁπνίκα : 'at what hour'; more precise than ὁπότε.

οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων : see note on 124. 1.

ὅπερ φιλεῖ μέγала στρατόπεδα ἀσαφῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι : 'as great armies are often seized with panic without any definite cause.' ὅπερ is cognate acc. with ἐκπλήγνυσθαι (a rare form for ἐκπλήσσεσθαι), and is virtually equivalent to ὥσπερ. φιλεῖ = *solet*. Cp. vii. 80. 3 (of the Athenian retreat from Syracuse) καὶ αὐτοῖς, οἷον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φόβοι καὶ δέγματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, . . . ἐμπίπτει ταραχῇ.

ὅσον δὲ οὐπω παρῆναι : 'and had all but arrived.' ὅσον οὐ = 'only not.'

πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδαν ἰδεῖν : 'without seeing (i.e. having an interview with) Brasidas.' The Scholiast's explanation is διαλεχθῆναι τῷ Βρασίδᾳ.

- 2 τοὺς Μακεδόνας : the historian does not think it necessary to add καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων.

καὶ αὐτός : with διανοεῖτο ἀναχωρεῖν.

ἐς τετράγωνον τάξιν : 'into a hollow square.' The rectangular formation is regularly denoted by the word πλαίσιον ; e. g. vii. 78. 2 τὸ δὲ ἐχώρει ἐν πλαισίῳ τεταγμένον.

- 3 ἐκδρόμους δέ, εἴ πη προσβάλλοιεν αὐτοῖς : the apodosis of the conditional sentence is involved in the noun ἐκδρόμους, which is equivalent to ὅπως ἐκδράμοιεν, 'to make a forward rush at whatever point the enemy might attack them.'

τελευταῖος : with ὑποχωρῶν.

4 ὥς διὰ ταχέων : cp. 96. 1.

126 *Speech of Brasidas.* 'Do not be dispirited by your isolation and the numbers of the enemy. True courage is based on native valour, not on the presence of allies. The barbarians are not really formidable : they will not stand a hand-to-hand encounter. Maintain a firm front, and you will soon be in safety.'

I τῷ τε μεμονῶσθαι καὶ ὅτι βάρβαροι οἱ ἐπιόντες καὶ πολλοί : three grounds for alarm on the part of the Peloponnesians are here assigned : (1) their isolation, (2) the fact that the enemy are barbarians, (3) the numbers of the enemy. (1) and (3) are taken together and dealt with in § 2 ; (2) is dealt with in the rest of the chapter.

ἐκπληξιν ἔχειν : 'are dismayed' ; virtually the passive of ἐκπληξιν παρέχειν (55. 3).

ὁμοίως : 'as I am now doing.'

τῇ παρακελεύσει : 'the (usual) exhortation' ; cp. 95. 1 ἡ παραίνεσις.

νῦν δέ : see note on 73. 3.

πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν ἡμετέρων : 'in view of the desertion of our friends' ; a recapitulation of the first point (τῷ τε μεμονῶσθαι).

2 ἀγαθοῖς γὰρ εἶναι : for the introductory γάρ cp. 17. 4.

ἐκάστοτε : 'on any given occasion' ; the adverb goes closely with παρουσίαν.

μηδὲν πλῆθος πεφοβῆσθαι ἐτέρων : cp. the words of Demaratus to Xerxes with reference to the Spartans : ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος [i.e. νόμος] ἀνώγη' ἀνώγει δὲ τῷτὸ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἔων φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατεῖν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι (Hdt. vii. 104).

οἳ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τοιούτων ἤκετε, ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσιν : 'seeing that you come from states that are not of that description, (states) in which the many do not govern the few, but rather a minority governs the majority.' The negative μηδέ (generic : cp. 32. 4) belongs only to τοιούτων ; and the correlative of τοιούτων, viz. ὥστε πλῆθος ἐτέρων πεφοβῆσθαι, is understood. μηδέ is 'not . . . either' ; the argument is, 'you ought not to be daunted by numbers now, because the form of government under which you have been bred does not fear them either.' For the causal οἳ γε cp. 61. 1 ἡς γε.

[The omission of οὐ (with Stephanus) gives a smoother sentence, ἐν αἷς being then correlative to τοιούτων; but no alteration is needed.]

δυναστείαν: not here in the special sense of 78. 3. Brasidas is of course referring to the Spartan constitution.

- 3 ἐξ ὧν τε προηγήμισθε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν αὐτῶν: the reference is to the engagement described in 124. 3. The Lyncestians are called Macedonians in 83. 1. ἐξ ὧν = ἐκ τούτων ᾧ, where ᾧ is acc. of the internal object.

εἰκάζω τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀκοῇ ἐπίσταμαι: the MSS. with the exception of M have εἰκάζων, but this is inconsistent with the certainty implied by ἐπίσταμαι.

- 4 ὅσα μὲν . . . οἷς δέ: here it is the δέ-clause that is subordinate in thought, and δέ may be rendered by 'though'; similarly in § 6 ἔργῳ μὲν . . . ὅψει δέ, and τοῖς μὲν . . . οἷ δ' ἄν.

τῶν πολεμίων: possessive genitive with ὅσα, 'all the characteristics of an enemy' (not 'the enemy'; for the statement in this section is general, the particular application beginning at οὔτοι δέ).

δόκησιν ἔχει: 'produce (lit. involve) an impression.'

αὐτῶν: referring to ὅσα: similarly in the next sentence αὐτοῖς refers to οἷς.

ἐθάρσυνε: gnomic aorist.

- 5 τὴν μέλλουσιν: 'what they are going to do,' as opposed to what they actually do when the engagement begins.

πλήθει ὀψεως: 'from the numbers that they present to the eye,' lit. 'numerical strength of aspect.'

διὰ κενῆς: an adverbial phrase equivalent to μάτην or ἄλλως, with which it is sometimes combined; 'useless'.

προσμεῖξαι: with ὁμοῖοι (εἰσίν).

αὐτά: referring to the numbers, the shouting, and the brandishing of arms.

οὔτε γὰρ τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἄν: the negative belongs both to the participle and to the verb; οὔτε is answered by τε . . . τε.

χώραν: 'post.'

ἥ τε φυγὴ . . . ἔχουσα δόξαν τοῦ καλοῦ: 'and the fact that their retreat and their advance is considered equally creditable'; cp. 26. 4.

ἔχει = παρέχει, 'renders.'

αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ μάχῃ: 'a mode of fighting in which each man is his own master'; see note on 108. 4.

τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀκινδύνως : all MSS. have ἐκφοβήσκειν, but it is doubtful whether the future could mean 'the attempt to frighten'. ἀκινδύνως, 'without danger to themselves.'

ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἂν πρὸ τούτου ἐχρῶντο : 'otherwise they would have resorted to the former rather than to the latter.' γάρ implies an ellipsis, εἰ μὴ ἡγοῦντο κτλ. ; cp. 54. 3.

6 σαφῶς τε : for τε see note on 4. 3.

πᾶν τὸ προϋπάρχον δεινὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν : 'all the elements of terror which they at present exhibit' (lit. 'existing on their side before [the engagement begins]').

ἔργῳ μὲν . . . ὅψει δέ : see note on § 4.

κατασπέρχον : rare for ἐκπλήσσον, 'startling.'

ἄπωθεν ἀπειλαῖς . . . μελλήσει : the first dative belongs to ἐπικομπουσιν, the second to the whole sentence ; 'they boast of their courage with threats from a distance, without proceeding to action.' μελλήσει is a reminder that the boasts and threats refer to a future which never arrives ; cp. τὴν μέλλησιν, § 5.

οἱ δ' ἂν ἐξωσιν αὐτοῖς, κατὰ πόδας : sc. τούτων, ' (following) close at the heels of those who yield to them.'

27-128 *The barbarians harass Brasidas' column, but are beaten off; some of them occupy a pass, but are dislodged. Brasidas reaches the kingdom of Perdiccas, and his soldiers revenge themselves for their desertion by the Macedonians. Hostility of Perdiccas to the Spartans, and leaning towards Athens.*

27 I διαφθερεῖν : so Cobet ; all MSS. have διαφθείρειν.

2 ἐκδρομαί : in concrete sense, 'parties of ἐκδρομοί' (125. 3).

ἡσυχάζόντων : sc. τῶν βαρβάρων.

προσβάλλειν : infinitive of purpose after καταλιπόντες : cp. 36. 1 δοῦναι . . . περιμέναι.

ἐπὶ τε τοὺς φεύγοντας : we should expect this to be answered by καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσβολήν, but as the sentence proceeds the influence of χωρήσαντες disappears, and τὴν ἐσβολήν becomes the object of προκατέλαβον.

τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Μακεδόνων : see 125. 1.

τὴν ἐσβολήν : cp. 83. 2.

στενὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀρραβαίου : in our idiom these attributive words would go with the antecedent ; cp. 113. 2 αἱ ἐφρούρουν δύο.

ἐς αὐτὸ . . . τὸ ἄπορον τῆς ὁδοῦ : 'right up to the difficult part of the route.'

- 128 I ἐπόντας : so Poppo for ἐπιόντας of the MSS. The latter is inconsistent with the words τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου in the next sentence.

τὴν πλείονα κύκλωσιν σφῶν : 'the larger force that was trying to surround them.' With κύκλωσιν in concrete sense cp. ἐκδρομαί, 127. 2. σφῶν (objective genitive) means the speaker and his followers.

- 2 ἡ πλείων . . . στρατιὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων : the main body, as distinguished from the 300 picked men.

τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα γενομένης σφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου : 'finding that their men had been routed at that point from the high ground.' αὐτοῖς is dative of the person interested, and refers to the barbarians as a whole ; the reflexive σφῶν of course refers only to the detachment on the hill.

ἐς τὸ πλεόν : 'farther.'

Ἄρμισαν : in the north-west of the kingdom of Perdiccas, since it was the first place therein that Brasidas reached.

αὐτοί : 'without orders,' with ὑπολύοντες κατέκοπτον κτλ.

ζεύγεσιν . . . βοεικοῖς : 'waggon drawn by teams of oxen.'

εἴ τι σκεύει : SC. ἐνέτυχον.

φοβερᾶ : 'full of fear' ; cp. ii. 3. 4 ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες (contrasted with κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὔσι).

- 5 Πελοποννησίων . . . μῖσος εἶχε : 'he felt for the Peloponnesians a hatred which, owing to the Athenians, was not habitual to his temper.'

τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων ξυμφόρων διαναστάς : 'disregarding (lit. standing aloof from) his pressing interests.' His interest was to weaken Athens as much as possible.

τοῖς μὲν . . . τῶν δέ : 'the Athenians . . . the Peloponnesians.'

- 129-131 *Recovery of Mende by the Athenians. Nicias and Nicostratus are defeated outside the city. Quarrel between the Peloponnesian commander and the people. The Athenians enter Mende, and cut off the Peloponnesian garrison in the citadel. The garrison escapes to Scione.*

- 129 2 ὑπὸ γάρ : γάρ introduces the explanation of the words καταλαμβάνει . . . ἔχοντας.

ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο : see 122. 6, 123. 3.

Χίαι : see note on 13. 2.

Νικόστρατος : see note on 53. 1.

- 3 τὸ Ποσειδώνιον : a promontory near Mende.

ἐχώρουν ἐς τοὺς Μενδαίους : see note on 95. 3.

Πελοποννησίων τε οἱ ἐπικούροι : see 123. 4.

ξύμπαντες [δὲ] ἐπτακόσιοι ὀπλίται : '700 hoplites in all.' This can hardly be right, as the Peloponnesian hoplites alone numbered 500. Steup suggests that after ὀπλίται some words have been lost, perhaps καὶ ἴσοι (or καὶ ἐξακόσιοι or καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι) πελτασταί. δέ, if genuine, marks the contrast between the force as a whole and its component parts.

- 4 αὐτοῖς : with προσβῆναι.

Μεθωναίους τε ἔχων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ψιλούς : Methone was on the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf, to the north of Pydna. These light-armed Methonaeans formed part of the force mentioned in § 2 as ἄλλοις τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων πελτασταῖς : accordingly peltasts were sometimes classed as ψιλοί, though generally distinguished from them (e.g. 93. 3).

κατὰ ἀτραπὸν τινα τοῦ λόφου : 'by way of a path leading up the hill.'

τραυματιζόμενος : the present participle evidently refers not to Nicias personally, but to his troops.

ἐκ πλέονος : 'from a greater distance,' i.e. by a more circuitous route. Usually this expression refers to time, e.g. 42. 3, 103. 4.

ἐς ὀλίγον ἀφίκετο : instead of παρ' ὀλίγον ἀφίκετο : see note on 106. 4.

- 130 1 περιπλεύσαντες ἐς τὸ πρὸς Σκιώνης : they sailed round the promontory of Poseidonium to the south side of Mende, which was the side nearest to Scione.

ἦν γάρ τι καὶ στασιασμοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει : see 123. 2.

- 2 ἅμα : this may be taken either as indicating that the operations of Nicias and Nicostratus were simultaneous, or as referring only to προΐων and ἐδῆον ('while advancing, he ravaged').

τὰς ἄνω πύλας : 'the upper gates,' or 'the gates on the land side'.

ἔρχονται : the subject is indefinite, 'people go.'

- 3 τὰ ὅπλα κείμενα : the arms, when not in use, were kept on the parade-ground.

- 4 κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικόν: 'under the influence of party-spirit.'
οὐδὲ δέοιτο πολεμεῖν: 'and that he did not need to fight,' i. e. he had no reason for hostility to the Athenians. For δέοιτο cp. 69. 2.
ὡς ἀντεῖπεν: not a mere repetition of ἀντεϊπόντος, but 'as soon as he had said this'.

θορυβηθέντος: 'roughly used.'

τοὺς τὰ ἐναντία σφίσι μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντας: 'those who, in concert with the Peloponnesians, had opposed them.' σφίσι refers to ὁ δῆμος.

- 5 ἅμα δὲ... φοβηθέντων: 'and partly because they had been alarmed at the opening of the gates to the Athenians.' φοβηθέντων gives the second reason for the rout, the first being given by the dative μάχῃ αἰφνιδίῳ: for the genitive absolute, where φοβηθέντας might have stood as object of τρέπουσιν, cp. 73. 3 ἡσσηθέντων.

- 6 οἱ μὲν: the Peloponnesians only, not their sympathizers; as is clear from αὐτοί, 'by themselves,' 'alone' (cp. 113. 2).

τὴν Μένδην πόλιν: Dobree struck out Μένδην as a gloss: not only is it unnecessary, but nowhere else does Thucydides insert the proper name between the article and πόλις. Steup reads τὴν Μένδην, <τὴν> πόλιν, the last two words being the object of διήρπασαν, and forming a contrast with τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

- 7 πολιτεύειν... ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν: i. e. to retain their democratic constitution.

ἐπικαθίσταντο: Poppo's conjecture for ἐπεκαθίσαντο. Thucydides elsewhere always uses καθιστάναι or καθίστασθαι, not καθίζειν, with φύλακην.

- 131 I Πελοποννήσιοι: part of the force of 500 hoplites sent to Mende and Scione (123. 4).

ὃν εἰ μὴ ἔλοιεν οἱ ἐναντίοι, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο σφῶν περιτείχισις: 'if the enemy did not take the hill, the circumvallation of Scione could not be effected.' This is virtual *oratio obliqua*: the Scionaeans said to themselves, ἣν μὴ ἔλωσι τὸν λόφον, οὐ γίγνεται ἡμῶν περιτείχισις.

- 2 τοὺς ἐπόντας: as in 128. 1, Dobree's correction of ἐπιόντας is required by the sense.

- 3 ἐν ἔργῳ: 'at work.'

οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως... πολιορκούμενοι: ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, instead of ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, is due to the influence of the following verb of motion.

παρὰ θάλασσαν: these words go naturally with βιασάμενοι τὴν

φυλακήν, 'having forced their way through the guards beside the sea'; see 130. 7. The Scholiast joined them with ἀφικνοῦνται.

τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιώνῃ στρατόπεδον. the force that was blockading Scione.

132 *Perdiccas makes an agreement with the Athenians, and prevents a Spartan army from passing through Thessaly to reinforce Brasidas. Spartan governors are appointed for Amphipolis and Torone.*

1 ὁμολογίαν ποιείται: by the agreement Perdiccas was bound to give active assistance to the Athenians; cp. v. 6. 2 πέμψας [ὁ Κλέων] ὡς Περδίκκαν πρέσβεις, ὅπως παραγένοιτο στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν.

τὴν τοῦ Βρασίδου ἔχθραν: see 128. 5.

εὐθὺς τότε: i. e. immediately after the retreat; but in the next sentence τότε means 'at the time when the agreement was made'.

2 ὁ [δὲ] Περδίκκας: after καί at the beginning of the sentence δέ is illogical; its effect, however, is to contrast the action of the main sentence with that of the parenthesis.

ἐνδηλὸν τι ποιεῖν: 'to give a clear proof.'

παρασκευάσας . . . ξένους: 'having procured the aid of his Thessalian guest-friends.' For this sense of παρασκευάζειν cp. iii. 36. 5 παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὥστε αὐθις γνώμας προθεῖναι. The middle voice is common in the Orators, of 'suborning' witnesses, &c.

χρῶμενος αἰεὶ τοῖς πρώτοις: 'for he was always on intimate terms with the leading men,' e. g. Niconidas of Larisa (78. 2).

διεκώλυσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν: Perdiccas doubtless caused his Thessalian friends to intimate to the Spartans that they would not permit the passage of an army through their country. τὴν παρασκευήν, 'the whole expedition.'

πειρᾶσθαι Θεσσαλῶν: 'make trial of the Thessalians,' to see whether they would consent to the expedition.

3 ἐπιδεῖν: 'to inspect.'

τῶν ἡβόντων αὐτῶν . . . ἄνδρας: αὐτῶν (i. e. the Lacedaemonians) is partitive genitive depending on τῶν ἡβόντων, which in turn depends on ἄνδρας. Stahl reads αὐτῷ (i. e. Brasidas), dative with ἐξήγον.

παρὰ νόμον: 'contrary to usage,' which reserved such work for older men.

ὥστε: 'in order to.'

τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας: these Spartan governors were called ἄρμοσται (viii. 5. 2).

τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν: 'chance persons'; cp. 40. 2 ὁ ἐντυγχάνων.

καθίστησιν: the subject is probably Brasidas.

Παστελίδαν: Dobree's correction of Ἐπιτελίδαν. The name occurs thrice in v. 3.

133 *The Thebans destroy the fortifications of Thespieae. The temple of Hera at Argos is destroyed by fire. Scione is closely invested by the Athenians.*

- 1 ἐπικαλέσαντες ἀττικισμόν: 'accusing them of sympathy with Athens,' probably in connexion with the intended surrender of Siphæ (76. 3). For the form of the noun cp. λακωνισμός, μηδισμός. The Thebans made a similar charge against the Plataeans (iii. 62. 2 ἡμεῖς . . . αὐτοὺς . . . φαμέν . . . μόνους . . . Βοιωτῶν ἀττικίσαι).

βουλόμενοι: imperfect participle.

παρεσχηκός: accusative absolute, like παρέχον, παρασχόν, 'it being in their power.' This is Krüger's conjecture for παρεστηκός, which is taken to mean 'an opportunity presenting itself'; but there is no parallel for an impersonal use of παρέστηκε.

ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μάχῃ: at Delium (96. 3).

ὅτι ἦν αὐτῶν ἄνθος: 'the flower of their army.' For the form of the expression cp. Liv. xxxvii. 12. 7 *quod floris, quod roboris in iuventute fuerat, amiserant*. This use of ἄνθος is unparalleled in classical prose; but it is common in poetry, e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 59 τοιόνδ' ἄνθος Περσίδος αἴας | οἴχεται ἀνδρῶν.

- 2 ὁ νεὼς τῆς Ἥρας . . . ἐν Ἀργεῖ: this famous temple was situated about five miles from Argos, and about a mile and three-quarters from Mycenæ; hence ἐν = 'in the neighbourhood of'; cp. 5. 1 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. After its destruction a new Heraeum was built on a lower terrace of the same hill; it contained a chryselephantine statue of Hera by Polycleitus.

Χρυσίδος τῆς ἱερείας: she had held office for forty-eight years when the war broke out in 431 B.C. (ii. 2. 1).

- 3 ἐς Φλειοῦντα: the territory of Phlius lay immediately to the north of Argolis.

ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ προκειμένου: 'in accordance with the law that had been set forth' to provide for such a case.

ἐπέλαβεν : 'had reached.'

ἕνατον ἐκ μέσου : 'the ninth (year) midway,' i.e. 'half of the ninth'.

ὅτε ἐπεφεύγει : this ought to mean, 'when she was in exile.' We should expect ὅτε ἔφυγε.

134 *An indecisive action between the Mantineans and Tegeans.*

1 Μαντινῆς δὲ καὶ Τεγεᾶται : these states in the east of Arcadia were both members of the Peloponnesian league, but constantly bickering with each other.

ἐν Λαοδοκείῳ τῆς Ὀρεσθίδος : Ὀρεσθίς is the name of a district near the later Megalopolis.

ἀμφιδήριτος : see Introduction, p. xxi.

κέρας . . . τὸ καθ' αὐτούς : i.e. the allies on both sides, ἐκάτεροι meaning the Mantineans and Tegeans.

2 ἀφελομένης . . . τὸ ἔργον : 'having cut short the action.'

ἐπηυλίσαντο : to encamp for the night on the battle-field was a sign of confidence in their victory; cp. iii. 5. 2 καὶ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε ἐπηυλίσαντο οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν.

ἀντέστησαν : 'set up a counter-trophy.'

135 *Brasidas fails in an attempt upon Potidaea.*

1 μέχρι μὲν τούτου : 'so far,' lit. 'until this time', τούτου meaning τοῦ προσθεῖναι τὴν κλίμακα.

τοῦ γὰρ κώδωνος παρενεχθέντος : in order to ensure vigilance at night, a bell was passed from sentry to sentry.

οὕτως : 'thereupon.'

τὸ διάκενον : the space left unguarded by the sentry who was passing the bell to the next man.

αἰσθομένων : sc. τῶν φυλασσόντων.

πρὶν προσβῆναι : 'before (the attacking party) could set foot upon the ladder.' προσβαίνειν is often almost equivalent to ἀναβαίνειν.

APPENDIX

Pylos and Sphacteria.

THE narrative of Thucydides raises many interesting questions with regard to the topography of the region, to some of which no convincing answer can be given; but the work of recent investigators places the identification of Pylos and Sphacteria themselves beyond doubt.

Pylos is the height now called *Palaeo-Kastro*, connected with the mainland on the north by a semi-circular sand-bar and on the east by a strip of sand and alluvium. To the north of this strip lies the lagoon of Osmyn Aga. Sphacteria is the island now called *Sphagia*, immediately to the south of Palaeo-Kastro, separating the Bay of Navarino from the open sea.

I. *Pylos*. The natural strength of Palaeo-Kastro is such that very little fortification would be necessary. It rises towards the north end, attaining a height of about 450 feet. Most of the coast is unclimbable cliff, and there are only three points which would require artificial defence. (*a*) On the north side (against which the Peloponnesians would make their land attack) there is a gap between the cliffs on the west coast and a line of cliff running inland from the east coast. Here, probably, a wall was built. (*b*) On the south-west, facing the sea, landing is extremely difficult, owing to the number of rocks which fringe the sloping shore, but not impossible; here there certainly must have been a wall, and here the Peloponnesians made their attack by sea. (*c*) Probably there was a wall at the south-east corner, under which Demosthenes drew up his three ships; this would be τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τείχος, where landing was possible (13. 1).

The well in the acropolis (26. 2) has not been found, but there must have been one in the mediaeval fort from which the place takes its name.

APPENDIX

The scarcity of camping-ground (*στενοχωρία*, 26. 3, 30. 2) is due to the steepness with which the ground rises.

II. **Sphacteria.** Except in the one detail of length, the description of Thucydides corresponds closely to the actual features of Sphagia. Owing to the nature of the coast, landing is impossible except at seven points (four on the east and three on the west side). The 'first post' of the Spartans (31. 2) was probably on a hill about three-quarters of a mile from the south end of the island; the second near the only well on the island (*περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ*); and the third on Mt. Elias, which rises to a height of about 500 feet at the north-east corner of the island. Remains of a *παλαιὸν ἔρυσμα* are still visible near the summit.

The length of the island, according to Thucydides, was about 15 stades (about 3,000 yards). The length of Sphagia is 24 stades, about 4,800 yards ($2\frac{3}{4}$ miles). The mistake may have been due to a copyist who wrote ΔΠ or ιε' (15) instead ΔΔΠ or κε' (25).

III. **The Harbour.** What did Thucydides mean by the *λιμὴν*? Evidently he considered the Bay of Navarino to be at least part of the harbour; for in 31. 1 the Athenians land *ἐκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος*, and the landing on the harbour side must have been well down the east coast of the island, for it was the southernmost of the three Spartan positions that they attacked first.

But the Bay of Navarino does not satisfy the other conditions. (a) It is far too exposed to have been a refuge for the Athenian fleet in a storm (3. 1).

(b) The absence of proper anchorage in the bay is dwelt upon (26. 3 *τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ὄρμον*, and 27. 1 *χωρίων ἀλιμένων ὄντων*).

We must suppose that the space now occupied by the shallow lagoon of Osmyn Aga was in 425 B.C. an expanse of navigable water forming an extension of the bay. How far the process of forming the sand-bar (which now separates the lagoon from the bay) had gone we have no data to determine. The harbour proper would be in the north-west corner; but the whole expanse, including the present bay, might be loosely called 'the harbour'.

Where then were the two entrances (8. 6)? Thucydides no doubt meant the channels at the north and south ends of Sphacteria, and it was clearly by these that the Athenian fleet entered. But (a) the measurements he gives are far too small. The southern entrance

is over three-quarters of a mile wide, admitting far more than eight or nine ships abreast; and it cannot have been appreciably less in Thucydides' time. This difficulty cannot be accounted for by a mistake in the numeral, for (*b*) Thucydides attributes to the Spartans the intention of closing the channels by ships moored side by side. Now the southern channel could not have been blocked with the number of ships the Spartans had at their disposal.

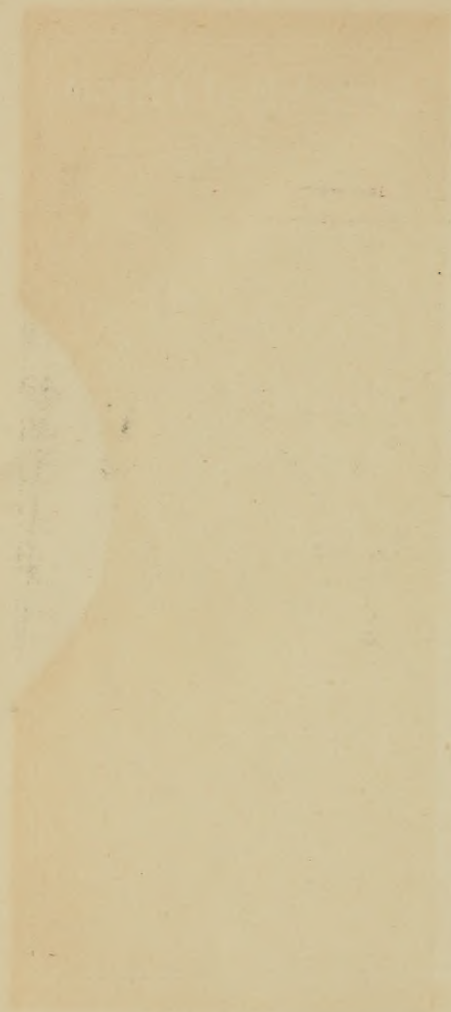
Two views are possible. (1) We may, with Prof. Burrows, reject the statement about the intended blocking of the channels as an invention by Thucydides' informant, who in this way attempted to excuse the mistake made by the Spartans in occupying Sphacteria; and assume that Thucydides somehow came to have a mistaken notion of the width of the channels perhaps because the Athenian squadron which sailed through the north channel was in a column of two ships abreast, while that which entered by the south channel had eight or nine abreast. (2) We may accept his statement, both as to the width and as to the intended blocking, and hold that he has mistaken the channels that were to be blocked. Thus Dr. Grundy suggests that the sand-bar was nearly, but not quite, completed in 425 B. C., and that the two entrances were (*a*) the channel between Sphacteria and Pylos, (*b*) the channel between Sphacteria and the western extremity of the sand-bar.

PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA



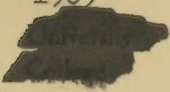
||||| Probable position of Athenian fortifications on Pylos
1, 2, 3. Spartan posts on Sphacteria

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